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THOUGHTS

ON THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

FRENCH POLITICS,

AND THE

NECESSITY AND POLICY

OF

DIMINISHING FRANCE,

FOR

Her internal Peace, and to secure the Tranquillity of Europe.

By WILLIAM PLAYFAIR.

The French Democrats will be like other Madmen, they have begun by insulting and attacking all their Neighbours, and will finish their Career in a strait Waistcoat.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THAT INESTIMABLE TREATISE

ON THE

DEFENCE OF ENGLAND,

BY THE LATE GENERAL LLOYD.

(Dedicated to GENERAL CLERK.)

Illustrated with a

MAP of FRANCE, shewing its former Boundaries, and the SUBDIVISIONS which are NECESSARY to be made in that COUNTRY.

AND A

CHART of the opposite COASTS of FRANCE, ENGLAND, FLANDERS, and a Part of HOLLAND;

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, Piccadilly.

1793.

Entered at Stationers-Hall.

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Director
Barnett
9-21-46
56335

TO

GENERAL CLERK.

SIR,

I THINK that it would be highly improper, I may ſay unjuſt, to re-publiſh the following work of General Lloyd without the *Dedication*, which ſeems to me to be very different from thoſe which are written merely to flatter, or for the purpoſe of procuring patronage.

The avowal of the author, "that "many parts of his work are in "conſequence of converſations held "with you, and owing to your ex- "tenſive knowledge of military af- "fairs," is an avowal which the world muſt reſpect and believe, when coming from an officer of

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General Lloyd's reputation, and addreſſed to you.

It is on account of this modeſt and candid avowal, that I ſhould regard the *ſuppreſſion* of that Dedication as unfair; and that although this ſhort treatiſe of mine precedes that of the General, I have prefixed his acknowledgements to you, to which I beg you will permit me to add, that I am much gratified by the opportunity which this furniſhes me of teſtifying that eſteem with which I have long had the honour to be,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient,

and moſt humble ſervant,

WILLIAM PLAYFAIR.

London, 24th March, 1793.

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TO

ROBERT CLERK, Esq.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL OF

HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES.

SIR,

IN the courſe of our acquaintance, we, or rather you, have diſcuſſed almoſt every point of military knowledge. If there is any thing worthy the attention of the ſoldier in the following diſcourſe, I owe it to you: it is, therefore, juſt I ſhould acknowledge the ſource from whence it ſprung; accordingly I inſcribe it to you, and at the ſame time thank

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thank you for the many favours you have conferred upon me. I have the honour to be, with the higheſt eſteem and reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt grateful,

Humble Servant,

G. LL.

CON-

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PREFACE.

THE laſt victory obtained over the French by the combined powers, beſides being one to my country, and to the cauſe of honour and juſtice, has been one to me perſonally, as I endeavoured to ſhew in my "Short Treatiſe "on the French Force and Reſources," that "their armies could not expect ſucceſs ſo far "from home." I have, therefore, obtained another claim to attention from the public.

As I foreſee more difficulty and more danger to the combined forces, after the French ſhall have been beat back into their own country, than there is now, I think it of importance, that all thoſe ideas which occur to perſons who have any knowledge whatever

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of the interior ſtate of France, ſhould be publiſhed.

This moment is for Europe, what a fire in London is for the neighbours,—every inhabitant, and every paſſenger, ſhould carry his *bucket of water*, and aſſiſt as he can to extinguiſh the flames. As it would be ridiculous to accuſe a man who aſſiſts on ſuch an occaſion, of being anxious to ſhew his ſtrength or dexterity in public,—ſo do I proteſt againſt all accuſations of the ſort that may be brought againſt me. The ſame reaſon ſhould ſcreen me from thoſe criticiſms that are directed to the beauties of periods and accuracies of ſtyle. Elegant writing I firmly believe to be above my reach, and I do not attempt it, though I owe ſuch reſpect to the public, as to communicate my ideas in the beſt language that I can.

As the party, diſtinguiſhed by the honourable title of Whigs, in this country, ſtill profeſſes a ſort of attachment to the French cauſe, and as the Sans Culottes themſelves inſiſt upon it, that liberty is their end and aim, thoſe who

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who write against them are sometimes mistaken for advocates of arbitrary governments.

The excesses, the follies, and the villanies of the French have, however, retarded the spreading of liberty over the world in a most effectual manner: they have thrown disgrace upon the best of causes, and their efforts have been so ill directed, and have cost so dear, that, upon a fair calculation of profit and loss, moderate men are at a loss what to say about improvements in governments, and are apt to think that it is better to bear those ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of.

An enthusiastic persecution, under the name of Philosophy, has renewed those evils that were carried on, to the disgrace of former times, under the name of Religion, and thereby mankind have been so troubled, and so much disgusted, that it is but too probable they may seek for repose under absolute monarchy.

The real basis of liberty is good common sense: I may say, it is the soil on which it

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grows; and, in proportion to the plain and ſenſible manner in which individuals reaſon, will always be the degree of liberty which they can bear.

A diſpoſition for abſtract reaſoning, ſophiſms, and metaphyſical arguments, obſtruct the cauſe of freedom, and although, at firſt ſight, this may appear ſtrange, the truth of it is eaſily made obvious. Abſtract reaſonings lead people to place great dependence upon theory; whereas common ſenſe leads people to pay great attention to practice and experience. In the latter caſe there is a degree of moderation and certainty, that leads almoſt imperceptibly, as it were, to what is wanted; in the former, it is like ſhooting at random; and in politics every error is paid for very dearly, and is often impoſſible to be repaired.

In England, for theſe five hundred years, we have been mending and improving the conſtitution and laws of our country. The Revolution completed the conſtitutional perfection: but as to the laws, as they are not capable of perfection, we continue to change them

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them ſtill, as occaſion and experience point out improvement.

Although, to bold and ignorant theoriſts, it appears ridiculous to quote Edward the IVth's ſtatutes, amended in the reigns of Henry the VIIIth, and James the Iſt, yet it is far from ridiculous; it is a proof that good intention, and not vanity nor ſelf-ſufficient pride, has been the guide of our law-makers, which is the greateſt praiſe they can have.

Not ſo the French, who, actuated by vanity, and guided by a falſe theory, began a reform of their government, by deſtroying every thing that had ever been done before, although there were many excellent laws, inſtitutions, and cuſtoms, in that country.

The members of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, as it was called, imagining they were come to ſhew the world an example of the eaſe with which general principles may be applied to government, deſtroyed every thing with as little regret as a taylor cuts up an old coat, to make a waiſtcoat of it; and they had not been two weeks at work, when it was

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openly declared amongſt them, and applauded, that they would bluſh if they did not eſtabliſh a better conſtitution than that of England. Very ſoon after, they pretended that the Engliſh had no conſtitution at all, and that diſcovery gave univerſal ſatisfaction, at the ſame time that it forced them into many of thoſe extravagancies and errors which have ruined their country.

To make any obſervations on the vanity and ignorance of this conduct would be ſuperfluous, particularly now, when a total failure of ſucceſs has ſtamped, with unredeemable infamy, and condemned to eternal ſhame, thoſe raſh men, who now, an erring, a vagabond, and contemptible race, can find refuge no where from the reproaches of their fellow-citizens whom they have ruined, nor from the execration of each other.

To combine freedom with the regulations and ſhackles that are neceſſarily required for the happineſs of ſociety, is a point infinitely too delicate and nice for pure theory to accompliſh, which can never adapt itſelf to that

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that variety of imperfection which is found in human nature.

It is certainly very unlucky that theory and practice are ſo often at variance, becauſe it becomes very eaſy for men, who have ſome talent for abſtract reaſoning, to miſlead popular opinion, and inſpire individuals with notions that are equally inimical to public proſperity and private happineſs.

The book ſo much talked of, written by Paine, was well adapted, by the groſſneſs and vulgarity of the ſtyle, to introduce falſe notions amongſt the vulgar, and therefore was greedily ſeized upon by the fermenters of diſcontent, as a meane of working upon the minds of the common people, and thereby overturning the preſent government of England. The ſtyle Paine wrote in was his only merit; for as to his arguments, they are far below the ordinary ſtandard, and I never could conceive why an anſwer was not written to them, taking it ſentence after ſentence, from the beginning to the end; when it would have been found, that in every one caſe either the principle is falſe in itſelf, or the ap-

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plication an unfair one. With reſpect to the firſt part, which I have read, this is the caſe; as to the ſecond, I do not know, for I never took the pains to read it. I confeſs, I think that, ſince the book was once circulated ſo univerſally, the circulating a refutation of it would have been the faireſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt effectual method of preſerving peace and contentment in the nation.*

It

* As one example of the ridicule and falſeneſs of Pain's doctrines, I ſhall take the following, which is likewiſe one of the main articles of his book on the Rights of Man:

Pain ſays, "That the conſtitution or contract be-"tween the king and people, ſigned when King Wil-"liam came over, ought not to be binding upon "poſterity."——Before I anſwer this, I ſhould explain the circumſtances under which Pain wrote. La Fayette was his patron at that time, and it was he who had firſt ſaid, That inſurrection was a ſacred duty; for which ſentence he merits all the ridicule, diſgrace, and puniſhment, he has met with.——The doctrine of inſurrection and this part of Pain's book are the ſame thing. It was therefore neceſſary for Pain to ſay what he did; but he did not certainly conſider, that if men are to undo at will whatever has been done before, the bonds of ſociety are broken at once—treaties of peace and friendſhip are no longer binding

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It is true, that a refutation of Pain's book is become leſs neceſſary, ſince he and his friends

binding—no laws, no loans of money, or other engagements are ſacred——I only aſk, if they are not, How can nations exiſt as nations?

I aſk alſo, How a nation changes its identity, and what epoch?—It is not like a race of men in one ſingle family. If it is a partial change of identity, that takes place every hour, is it a total change, that can never be aſcertained?—Soon after Pain wrote, the Conſtituent Aſſembly of France found out that they had got into an error with what they called the National Will, exerciſeable at every hour. It was evidently not worth while to ſign a conſtitution that might be changed next day, and they had conſecrated the principles of inſurrection. By a ridiculous declaration and a prayer, not to change their work, they crowned all their folly, but did not reſolve the queſtion; and the Sans Culottes, on the 10th of Auguſt laſt, ended the affair by a legal inſurrection.

Pain and the French fell all into the ſame error, which led them to this ridiculous doctrine of inſurrection. They did not diſtinguiſh between the eſſence of a conſtitution, and all thoſe laws which are neceſſary for the organization of ſociety: the former of which, being founded on the immutable principles of right and wrong, can never need to be changed; the latter, being to be adapted to circumſtances, require perpetual changes.

If

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friends have overturned their own fabric themſelves, and I count it a moſt happy circumſtance for the peace of mankind, that the Almighty has permitted that infatuated French nation to fill up the meaſure of their iniquities and of their follies this winter; for

If any thing, then, is ſacred to poſterity, it is a conſtitution like that of England: and certainly poſterity could never derive any benefit from a privilege, could ſuch a one exiſt, of changing what, being fixed upon immutable truth and juſtice, is more durable than the ſociety itſelf.

In the courſe of a man's life there are many things which he does, that do not exactly correſpond with what he intended to have done: but there are certain points upon which he on all occaſions feels the ſame, and let the collateral circumſtances be what they may, his conduct is unalterable; for every man feels in himſelf, that there are certain bounds which he cannot paſs, without his whole moral conduct being ruined for ever; and thus his own feelings claſs his duty under two heads,—that which may vary, and that which never can vary, as being eſtabliſhed upon eternal right and juſtice. The rights of Man, as they call them, divide themſelves in the ſame manner: that diſtinction not being made, was the principal cauſe of the revolution in laſt Auguſt; for all being equally ſacred, the part that required a change, pulled the other part along with it, as it was very eaſy to foreſee that it would do before long.

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had they been obliged to ſubmit to their enemies laſt September, they would ſtill have had many advocates in other nations: the democratic principles would have broke out again, and perhaps with more fury. At preſent it is difficult to ſuppoſe they can have any advocates, except in Bedlam: and as for imitators, they can have none; for who is there that will tread the certain road to miſery, with their eyes open?

It is aſtoniſhing to ſee ſome perſons of fortune and family in this country ſtill ſhew a predilection for the French levellers, who are at open war, bent upon deſtroying all the advantages procured by family and fortune.

What can be the motives of ſuch men? What can be their aim? Is it perſonal importance? No: that cannot be; for the idol of the people is but the idol of a day.—Is it love for the people? No; for the levelling ſyſtem ruins the people, by leaving them a prey to intrigue and faction, and without bread.—Is it riches? No; for it muſt end in their being very poor.—Can it be enmity to the preſent ſyſtem, and to thoſe who are now

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in power? I leave to themſelves to anſwer this queſtion.

That a Sans Culotte ſhould wiſh to level all diſtinctions, that he may either ſhare in the ſpoils of others, or at leaſt make them ſhare his miſery, is conceivable enough: but that a man who enjoys many advantages, from the inequality of rank and fortune, ſhould wiſh it, is very difficult to conceive.

When La Fayette, Clermont Tonnere, Mirabeau, Bailly, the Lameths, and others of the ſame caſt, began the revolution, and ruined their nation, they were ignorant of what the ultimate conſequences would be; and though very culpable, they were not ſo much ſo as thoſe perſons who would bring about a ſimilar change in England; and as a proof of what I ſay, they are almoſt either all dead, or obliged to leave their country, being enemies to the extravagance of the preſent ſyſtem, of which they ignorantly laid the foundation.

French-

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Frenchmen are too impatient, and know too little of the Engliſh character, to go to work in the proper manner to overturn the conſtitution, which cannot be done by an open attack; it is too good to be undermined by reaſon, and we love it too much to leave it at their mercy. Thus it has happened, that the attempts lately made againſt our peace, have ſtrengthened the hands of government, by making the people unanimous in the ſupport of the preſent happy ſtate of things: but there are methods by which it is to be feared the whole fabric may be undermined. The reform in parliament will do it: I have demonſtrated it already, and the author of that reform cannot anſwer me. I threw down the gauntlet, and neither he nor his friends dare to take it up: I challenge them once more to do ſo, and obſerve, that though an obſcure individual, thoſe men, who are the advocates of equality, have no right to deſpiſe my arguments ſo much, as not to anſwer them.

That there is a plot laid againſt the preſent ſyſtem of things in this country, ſeems to me indiſputable; and certainly the advocates

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cates for the liberty of the preſs will not think that I do wrong in giving my opinion freely. But that ſuch men may know what they have to expect, let me tell them what I have myſelf been a witneſs to.

When the court of France was yet in all its ſplendour and grandeur, and Louis XVI. enjoyed his full power, the parliament of Paris oppoſed him, and wiſhed to diminiſh his power. Not contented with their firſt victory, which was on the ſide of juſtice, they purſued the blow, and forced the King to aſſemble the States General, which became, almoſt as ſoon as created, a National Aſſembly, with unlimited powers; then a National Aſſembly with limited powers, and then a National Convention, with unlimited powers again.

M. Duval d'Eſpremeſnil, the moſt eloquent and one of the moſt virtuous members of parliament, was at the head of the oppoſition to the court. The adoration of the people, and an unjuſt but honourable baniſhment, were his portion; and when he returned to Paris,

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Paris, it was more like the triumphal entry of a king, than of a citizen.

After it was too late, d'Eſpremeſnil found that things were going too far, and he joined the royal party, to which he adhered with a firmneſs and attachment that were as as honourable to him as his former oppoſition.

The name of d'Eſpremeſnil, which for a time had been above every name in France, became ſoon after the moſt deteſted. In the end of laſt July, this ſame ancient magiſtrate was attacked by the people in the garden of the Thuilleries, without his having uttered a word, being unfortunately known by a Sans Culotte, who began by giving him a blow, and crying out for vengeance againſt the traitor, as he called him. In an inſtant he was attacked on all ſides; his clothes torn from his back, and he was purſued to the Palais Royale, where he fell exhauſted on the ground. I was one of three perſons (National Guards) who reſcued him from the mob, when he was naked, and covered with ſixteen deep wounds received from ſabres, and

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and his whole body one continued bruiſe, from the blows he had received. By the help of ſix more National Guards, who came up by accident, we were enabled to carry him off to the firſt guard of ſoldiers, which happened to be at the Royal Treaſury, into which we had ſcarcely entered, when the great body of the mob, which had gone round by another ſtreet, arrived, and demanded his head. This ferocious cry of death continued ſeveral hours, although the Treaſury was reinforced with two hundred ſoldiers within, and fifteen hundred without.*

When

* We had no ſooner laid down M. d'Eſpremeſnil upon ſome ſtraw, than the ſoldiers, finding I was not in uniform, began to abuſe and beat me, and after having forced me out into the court, wanted to put me into the ſtreet, as they would not ſuffer a raſcally Ariſtocrat, as they called me, to remain amongſt them. To this I objected, as being covered with blood, and certain to be maſſacred. By means of good words and bad ones, and being obſtinate, they at laſt permitted me to go and lay under one of their beds till night ſhould come, (it was then about five o'clock.) Though during the time that Pethion fainted, I got a ſort of ſhoe-black, who was there, to procure me wine from the Swiſs who ſold it, and the ad-

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When the then idol of the day (Pethion) came, as mayor of Paris, to protect his predeceſſor in public favour, and found him naked and bleeding upon the ſtraw, he fainted away. It was not difficult to conceive what was the cauſe; for the bleeding man, with a faultering voice, addreſſed him thus:—"And "I alſo have been the idol of the people: I "have had civic crowns,—and here I lie!"

The ſame has been more or leſs the caſe with all thoſe perſons, whom a love of popularity led into public life. La Fayette would have been killed, had he remained; Clermont Tonnerre was executed by the mob; Bailly ſaved himſelf by flight; and of the other heroes of the conſtitution, not one preſerved public favour, except thoſe who joined to deſtroy their own work.

adventure ended well enough for me, I treated all the ſoldiers on guard: we drank three dozen, and finiſhed with a fraternal ſhake of the hand, and drinking the King of England's health, after having drank Jerome Pethion's.—Had I not, for ſome years, been perſonally acquainted with M. d'Eſpremeſnil, I ſhould not have expoſed myſelf to this danger. I ſhould not mention this perſonal anecdote, were not two perſons now in London, and who live here, well acquainted with the truth of it.

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Such examples, if theſe are perſonal motives may ſerve as a leſſon to thoſe who would riſque deſtroying the balance of government here, and thereby looſening thoſe bands which hold ſociety together, which, when broken, leave nothing but an unruly and ferocious mob in the place of a peaceable and happy people; nor let it be imagined that the torrent once let looſe, it can be ſtopped, for of that there is leaſt of all poſſibility.

A great experiment has been made upon governments; it has not ſucceeded, and the method of chuſing the repreſentatives of the people, if not the firſt cauſe of the evil, is at leaſt the cauſe of its going to ſuch extremes; it would, therefore, be but wiſdom to wait until this experiment is fairly finiſhed in France, and until we have had time to reflect upon the matter, before we run a riſque of ſimilar miſtakes, which are ſo fatal and irreparable.

Thus having introduced, in a Preface, ſome ideas that could not, with any propriety, come in to the courſe of the work, I I ſhall, as briefly as I can, treat of the affairs of France.

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THOUGHTS, &c.

To give the more regularity to the following ſhort eſſay on the affairs of France, I have thought it beſt to divide the ſubject, and in this I ſee a double advantage: the train of reaſoning becoming much more ſimple, its juſtneſs may appear more diſtinctly when I am right, and my errors more clearly when I am wrong. The errors may be ſeparated from what may be found juſt in what I ſay, and therefore they will not do the work ſo much harm, as if they were interwoven together in a more complex manner.

Having already addreſſed the Public more than once upon the affairs of France, what I

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have now to ſay is rather as an addition to what I have already publiſhed, than as a beginning upon a new footing; for the Revolution of France taking ſuch various forms, requires that when their affairs have been once entered upon, they ſhould be followed up. Thus, when I criticiſed the French Conſtitution, which was ſo much vaunted, in 1792, I meant to ſtop the progreſs of thoſe principles upon which it was founded, and thereby prevent the ſpreading of that mad philoſophy in England. When I wrote upon the actual reſources of France, I meant to ſhew its weakneſs; and now that our country is fairly engaged in an honourable coalition, I will not ſay with the houſe of Auſtria and the King of Pruſſia, but with the whole of Europe, againſt France, I mean to give my ideas of the method by which this honourable and neceſſary coalition of powers may beſt ſecure the peace of Europe, and ſave France from thoſe evils with which ſhe is menaced from anarchy, and a perpetual tendency to revolution.

That there is ſome arrogance in the attempt, may appear to many, and it requires an explanation from a man who does by no means

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means wiſh to aſſume the language of ſuperior wiſdom, but who truſts that he ſhall always addreſs the Public with that modeſty which becomes an individual liable to error, though partial to his own opinion.

I am, then, encouraged to do this by the failure of the laſt campaign, which aroſe from a want of information with reſpect to the ſtate of France; and by the conſideration that the ſame perſons conduct the preſent campaign, which is to decide the fate of Europe.

I conſider alſo, that in England we are in general very ill informed in French affairs, and that we are not ſo able to aſſiſt the combined powers with our counſels, as with our ſoldiers and ſailors; and laſt of all, I can only addreſs thoſe who will take the trouble from choice to read what I write, and who will have judgement enough to reject what is of no value; ſo that I can do no harm if I do no good, which is the beſt excuſe I can have. In ſhort, I think this ſo important a moment, that every man ſhould ſerve his country as he can, and I therefore take my way of offering my ſervice.

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The following is the diviſion I have adopted:

1ſt. That the French were never fit for political diſcuſſions, and are now leſs ſo than ever.

IId. That for the good of that nation, as well as the peace of Europe, it was neceſſary for other nations to interfere in their affairs.

IIId. That it is abſurd to ſpeak of not meddling with the internal affairs of France, and what mode appears to be the moſt effectual to regulate them.

IVth. That this revolution, being an unexampled phenomenon in the hiſtory of nations, the exiſtence of which it attacks in a totally new manner, it is neceſſary to uſe new methods of defence; and that it can only be by ignorance or bad intention that thoſe meaſures are recommended which tend to preſerve that delicate honour with the preſent rulers of France which they openly tread under foot, and which would render all our efforts uſeleſs.

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And laſtly, That as the Jacobins have eſtabliſhed as a new principle, that their will ſhould be ſubſtituted for law and juſtice, we in treating with them ſhould conſider that neceſſity has no law; that they have endangered our political exiſtence, and that we have a right to ſee ourſelves made ſafe by every means in our power.

Iſt. That the French never were capable of ſhining in politics is eaſily proved from the hiſtory of their country; and the reaſon is certainly, that their national character is unfavourable to the diſcuſſions and details which a well-poiſed government requires.—All men, ideots excepted, ſhew certain taſtes and propenſities as ſoon as they come of an age ſufficient to make them known, or as ſoon as they have an opportunity; they alſo ſhew certain talents or means of execution: every perſon has natural abilities of ſome ſort or another, but the taſte and the abilities are independent of each other, and often at total variance. From this ariſes that variety of extent of genius in men. When the natural diſpoſition coincides with the natural genius, then the man having both the means and

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will, becomes, whether in arts or arms, a man of merit; when, on the contrary, the oppoſite is the caſe, the man miſtakes the will for the ability, and appears an ordinary, and often a contemptible perſonage.

On the great ſcale the ſame is the caſe with nations, England and France have never ſhone in the ſame line, and never will ſhine; and it will be with them as with individuals, error, miſcarriage, and contempt, will be their portion, when they wiſh to run the race for which they are not by nature fitted.

While France had a taſte for gaiety, dreſs, and gallantry, ſhe excelled all nations, and other nations avowed their inferiority in copying her manners. Lightneſs of mind and perſonal vanity ſupported Frenchmen in their former career, as much as they counteract them in their preſent one. The ſame diſpoſition of mind aſſiſted equally in the beginning of the revolution; it was only when order and ſubordination became neceſſary that the Frenchman found himſelf in an awkward poſition.

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Let it not be thought ſtrange that the ſame men who gloried in ſupporting the moſt brilliant court in Europe, who invented honours and ornaments for the great with an unexampled profuſion, ſhould be equally glorious of wearing bad cloaths, humiliating the nobility, and deſtroying the court. Wherever perſonal vanity is the moving cauſe, extremes are eaſily to be found. Thus it is, that all the parts of dreſs that owe their origin to vanity, are perpetually on the change, and run into oppoſite extremes, while he who wears them feels himſelf equally vain. An embroidered coat or a plain, a large hat or a ſmall, according to circumſtances, afford vanity the ſame cauſe for exultation. Thus,

Lucullus, when frugality could charm,
Had roaſted turneps at the Sabin farm;
Voluptuous Cæſar, born in Scipio's days,
Had aim'd, like him, by chaſtity at praiſe.

The ſame men who in 1785 peſtered the court for honours and ribands, who thought themſelves happy to wait in an antichamber, gloried afterwards in inſulting their ſuperiors, and on wearing the uniform of revolt. I have

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have myſelf ſeen M. Bailly, who firſt headed the revolters in Paris, and Claviere, who ſigned the infamous order for the execution of the unfortunate King, in the antichamber of M. de Breteuil but a very ſhort time before the revolution, and nobody ſeemed to wait with more philoſophical patience than they. I ſhould fill more pages than I at preſent mean to write, were I to give all the living examples of ſimilar charges of conduct that I know.

That perſonal vanity which induces the generality of Frenchmen to think that they ſhine in whatever they undertake, leads them to extremes, and when they happen to be miſtaken, is the cauſe of every ſort of error. Thus no ſooner had La Fayette, Mirabeau, Bailly, and the Lameths, with the Abbe Sieyes, and ſome others, preached the real language of revolt, and that of falſe philoſophy, than every man in France became an orator, a metaphyſician, and a patriot. Monteſquieu and Rouſſeau were only quoted and eſteemed as men who underſtood the true principles ſooner than others, but who from the times they lived in could not be ſuppoſed

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to have carried their principles to the perfection of the year 1789, when a new light came down, and barbers and coblers began to ſport ideas and ſyſtems that exceeded every thing ever known in extravagance, but, as they thought, in true philoſophy.

I never can give an adequate idea of this ſpecies of vanity and extravagance, which is better to be conceived by the mad career which that devoted nation has ſince run, than by any thing that can be ſaid.

Certainly the hiſtory of the world produces nothing equal to the vanity and fickleneſs diſplayed by the French. The graven image of Nebuchadnezzar, before which he ordered all his ſubjects to kneel down, received nothing like the homage which the French exacted for their conſtitution. The wiſdom of that conſtitution has ſoon had the fate of the King of Babylon too — it was ſoon weighed in the balance and found wanting, inſomuch that its own admirers, that vain nation which thought they had made a work greater than men ever produced before, threw it like a loath-

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loathſome weed away before one year had yet paſſed over.

That vanity ruled all, and was at the bottom of all, is clear, for the new ſyſtem of perfect equality met with the ſame adulation, the ſame fidelity was ſworn to it beforehand, and the ſame contempt will very ſoon be its portion, when ſome other more extravagant ſyſtem will take its place, and that always with the ſame exultation and vanity.

So far they reaſon wrongly who think that man is taught to be wiſe by error in all caſes, or that he is thereby taught diffidence; where that is the caſe, reflexion and common ſenſe are at the bottom; but vanity acts differently, and leads from one ſtep of error only to a greater.

When vanity is the general director of the actions of men, what has ſhew obtains always the preference to what is ſolid; thus declamation, abſtract reaſoning, and airy ſyſtem, in France, have all along taken place of ſolid and diffident reaſoning, and cautious experiment.

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In the Roman ſenate, the orators, who had a right to be proud of themſelves and of their nation, never launched into chimerical extravagancies; and in all their actions, that great and aſtoniſhing nation went upon the moſt circumſpect and modeſt plan. When they enſlaved the world, though it was ſyſtematically done, it was not by a raſh ſyſtem, but by a ſlow and guarded one. Five hundred years of unexampled perſeverance, valour, and virtue, did indeed enable a ſmall republic to become the miſtreſs of the world; but in no period of their progreſs had they the vanity or the injuſtice to overturn the religion, or laws, or cuſtoms of the vanquiſhed.

But in ſpeaking of the French, why ſhould I make any ſort of compariſon with ſo great a nation? I only do it to ſhew the two greateſt extremes that are poſſible: it is like comparing the ſun to one of thoſe peſtilential meteors that blazes for a moment, and blaſts the productions of the earth over which it paſſes, leaving nothing after it but a ſulphureous vapour.

In

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In England we are contented with living happily, improving our own conſtitution, and making laws for ourſelves, and though we have in more than one inſtance ſet the world an example that merited to be followed, we never once thought of becoming the dictators of other nations; modeſty and common ſenſe have led us further and longer than vanity and audacity will lead the French; what we aim at is generally within our reach—what they aim at is beyond theirs, and ſo ſucceſs attends the one nation and diſappointment the other.

Such is always the caſe when the talents of men are badly directed, and when they have vanity enough to be blind to the errors which they commit.

It appears very clearly from the hiſtory of France, that all their internal broils, and all the diſgraces of their monarchs, have only increaſed monarchical power, becauſe they convinced the nation of the neceſſity of having a monarch. Not to go back to remote times, did not Henry the Fourth ſtep into the poſſeſſion of the crown at the end of terrible and diſaſtrous civil wars? He with the aſſiſtance

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assistance of the great Sully wound up the affairs of the nation, and put it in a state to go on for some time, and possessed during his reign more uncontrouled authority than any of his predecessors.

Louis the Fourteenth mounted the throne of France at the end of similar disorders, and he carried despotism to a still higher pitch, and raised their prosperity so high, that all the misfortunes in the end of his reign, the regency, and the voluptuous excesses of Louis the Fifteenth, could not unhinge the monarchical system.

The causes which more immediately brought on the present revolution it is not here necessary to dwell upon, as my intention is only to shew, that in all former struggles between the people and the throne the latter has gained, and from that to conclude, as is very fairly to be done, that the French are not capable of conducting themselves well in political affairs.

How different has it been with England! in all our struggles we have gained something,

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thing, but then we have been moderate and juſt in compariſon with that ungovernable nation.

If at other times the French are not fit men to conduct themſelves in political ſtruggles, they are now leſs ſo than ever: the preſent generation is ſpoiled, and has ſuffered infinitely more by the violent extreme into which it has been driven, and the bad habits acquired by individuals during a revolution, than it has gained by fatal experience. Error accumulates, and inſtead of attempting to find the right path, we find them go wider and wider; and what is ſtill worſe, until thoſe abominable and dangerous tenets laid down by the firſt aſſembly are done away, there can be no government in France in which the people ſhall have any ſhare.

The method of electing repreſentatives is ſuch that the majority of electors are the ſcum of the nation, and property may be ſaid not to be repreſented at all, the proprietors forming in all caſes only a very inconſiderable minority.

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The ſyſtem of equality, the duty of inſurrection, the want of ſubordination in every line, with the total deſtruction of every moral or religious tie, has completely unfitted the nation for any thing like a mixt government; and mixt governments are the only good ones. If a perfect ariſtocracy is bad, a pure democracy is at leaſt ten times more oppreſſive and hurtful to individual feelings, and individual liberty.

It is natural to conclude, from the hiſtory of France, and from what I have now ſaid, that a monarchy more abſolute than before will be the end of all this: but how that is to be effected in the beſt manner, both for the nation herſelf and the reſt of Europe, becomes a queſtion of great importance, and leads me to the ſecond head, which is, concerning the neceſſity of an interference by other powers.

II. Although were the French nation let alone, a civil war within would alternately determine who was to govern, and in what manner the government was to be conſtituted, yet conſidering the ambition, violence, and intrigue of the leaders of the revolution, all Europe might be ſufferers.

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Such would be the natural concluſion were no war already begun; but war is begun, and that very juſtly and moſt neceſſarily, by the powers on the continent; for when a nation became the general ſeat of rebellion, when ſhe ſyſtematized revolt and inſurrection in other countries, it was time for other nations to aſk themſelves this ſimple queſtion:---Will we continue as we are, or ſhall France dictate to us, and make laws as ſhe pleaſes? Such is the queſtion that every power in Europe ſhould have aſked itſelf laſt year, before Germany was attacked by France; but now that we are at war, there is but one poſſible queſtion, which is, concerning the readieſt method of reducing her power of doing miſchief.

That kingdoms and nations wear out like all the living productions, is in ſome degree true. The moral world is always changing a little, from the accumulation of knowledge, and from the changes in the habits of men: And it is a fact beyond diſpute, that the invention of powder and printing have laid the foundation for a change in the world, that muſt ſooner or later take place; and it is upon this

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this notion that the French Conſtituent Aſſembly built their democratic plan of government. I ſhall here give the plan as it was ſpoken of beforehand by Claviere, the intimate friend of Mirabeau, in the month of September 1789.

I was at the houſe of this revolutioniſt, at Surene, about ſix miles from Paris, and walking in the garden before dinner, he ſaid to me (for we were alone) nearly what follows:

" It is very evident that the feudal ſyſtem, " which owed its origin to the confuſion and " ignorance that the deſtruction of the Ro- " man empire left all over Europe, muſt va- " niſh as men become more equal in force, " and better acquainted with their rights. " The invention of gunpowder has reduced " almoſt to nothing thoſe natural diſtinctions " of ſtrength, which, in the days of chivalry, " enabled one man to rule by actual force " over a whole province; and printing, that " admirable invention, has given a faculty of " communicating ideas, and making men " underſtand their rights, that muſt ulti-

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" mately end in a great change with reſpect
" to thoſe inequalities of condition, of which
" all Europe offers ſo many proofs. Men al-
" ready ſhould have profited by this, but that
" habit and timidity have retarded the opera-
" tion, until the example of America gave
" courage, and ſhewed that the rights of man
" might be eſtabliſhed in fact, &c. &c."

Such, or very nearly, was the tenor of what he ſaid; and, though I repreſented to him the difference between America and Europe, in the former of which men are ſcarce, and land in abundance, while here we are crowded upon each other, his opinion remained the ſame; and, by his actions ſince, he has clearly ſhewn that he conſidered the change as pretty certain of taking place. Although there was, perhaps, a very great miſtake in the concluſion which the democratic party drew concerning the ſituation of mens' minds, yet did the fact exiſt, men could not be under the ſame government in enlightened as in barbarous and ignorant times; but their error was in this, that the change had already taken place in a great meaſure all over the continent, and in England completely ſo.

Civili-

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Civilization and knowledge, if they had not abolished, had at least rendered useless, all those humiliating and unjust privileges to which the feudal system had given rise; and the proprietor of lands in France, who would have dared to act as he might have done in the thirteenth century, would have been regarded as a monster.

Much, indeed, still remained to be done in France; but there was a plain way of doing it, and no one resisted the reform: and had the persons into whose hands it was put been pure, it would long ere now have been complete.

The boundary, however, to the equalization of mankind is a narrow one enough, and neither printing nor gunpowder can do any more than check the extremes which ignorance and inequality of force permits.

The necessity of living in society brings on an inequality of means to execute our will, and the great inequality of the human understanding circumscribes within a very narrow extent the dissemination of knowledge. While

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Mirabeau and his fellow-labourers thought (or pretended to think) they were making a nation of philoſophers, they were only turning the heads of the people, by ſpreading amongſt them opinions, which their ſmall extent of knowledge, and want of time, hindered them from underſtanding, and which, ſo far from paving the way for liberty, are preparing the way for deſpotiſm, by rendering the deluded people incapable of enjoying freedom.

The fundamental error in this ſyſtem was the poſition, that all governments are originally founded upon force, and that difference of deſires and wants require a police to keep them up; whereas, ſay they, reaſon will guide men, and laws will, when in the hands of equals, be exerted with juſtice and lenity, and will be ſeldom neceſſary.

Firſt of all, without inquiring into the origin of particular governments, I think their exiſtence not ſo much derived from force as from the nature of things.—The father of a family, when the world was thinly peopled, was a king, and, from mutual wants or propenſities, the power was conducted down to ſome of

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of his deſcendents, whom the others chooſe to obey. Nothing is more clear than this, though it will be ſaid, a moment came, when the obedience was no longer an act of will but of force.

Here it is neceſſary to obſerve, that this force was occaſioned by difference of opinion; for had they all been of one mind, there would not, nor could have been any force; the king muſt either have ceaſed to be king, or have continued now with their good will to be ſo. The ſpreading of light, as the National Aſſembly calls it, *creates, and has created, a greater variety of opinions than ever*; therefore, in place of clearing the way to a voluntary obedience to government, it has rendered any ſuch government impoſſible.

It is then only by civil war that the French can arrive at ſome ſpecies of government, and that muſt be ſuch as to make all difference of opinion bend before the power eſtabliſhed; for till then, the preſent anarchy will continue, and there will be no government.

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As the ruling party of France profeſſes a ſyſtematic and perpetual oppoſition to all ſorts of government that are not founded upon their own principles, and as, while their principles remain, they never can have any government, it becomes neceſſary for every nation that means to keep as it is, or not to be ſo ſunk under anarchy, to ſet to work firmly and boldly to reduce France to reaſon; and this brings me to the third part of my ſubject, which is, to prove that it is abſurd to ſay that we ſhould not meddle with the internal affairs of France.

III. If we are not to meddle with the internal affairs of France, what we are doing is to very little purpoſe; we muſt, I ſuppoſe, ſit with our hands acroſs, after having been at the expence of arming to repel her attacks upon our allies, until it ſhall pleaſe her again to make a ſally; but ſtill religiouſly let her alone as ſoon as ſhe returns within her own limits. It would be better, I think, to carry the ſyſtem a little further, and as they have taken our cloak give our coat alſo.

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The advocates for not meddling with the internal affairs of France, follow the example of the French philoſophers themſelves exactly. They lay down a principle true in general, but not in particular caſes. All nations (ſay they) have a right to make what interior arrangements they pleaſe; this is true, upon the ſuppoſition that theſe interior arrangements have no hoſtile effect upon other nations. My neighbour may do in his own houſe what he pleaſes, provided he does not endanger mine; I have no right to meddle, certainly, with his interior arrangements, ſo long as they are of a ſort that does me no injury; but ſhould it pleaſe him to ſet fire to it, I ſhould have liberty to interfere, becauſe my own ſafety would thereby be endangered; or even if it happened to be one of his interior arrangements to keep a tyger or a bear looſe in his houſe, which might run out into the ſtreet, and tear the neighbours and their children to pieces, then I think his ſovereign will and pleaſure might be attacked even upon his own premiſes.

The French nation certainly had a right to form to themſelves a free conſtitution, if they

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they would; nor do I even think we had a right to meddle with them when they dethroned their king; but when they did ſeveral other things, of which I ſhall juſt give a ſhort hiſtory, I think, not only we acquired a right of interfering, but our right went certainly the length of ſecuring ourſelves againſt the danger of ſuch things in future.

Of the French acts againſt the peace of other people, and againſt their rights, the firſt and moſt material was, their endeavouring to excite diſcontents in all nations, by ſpreading opinions inimical to that ſpecies of government, whatever it be, which now exiſts; but of this I ſhall ſpeak laſt, as being the moſt eſſential.

The ſeizing of the ſmall territory of the Comtat d'Avignon, belonging to the Pope, was the firſt act of open aggreſſion, and was accompanied with a ſpecies of reaſoning that might have been applied in the ſame manner to any other treaty, bargain, grant, or law, made for four centuries back, and might have annulled them with equal juſtice.

It

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It would be leſs unjuſt for us to take back Dunkirk, than it was for them to take Avignon: they had no other right but that which they hold the moſt ſacred, force and power, ſince the poſſeſſion had been guaranteed to the Papal ſee by almoſt every treaty of peace made for ſeveral centuries.

The ſecond attack on other nations was upon the Emperor, and the princes of Germany, who had given an aſylum within their territories to the brave Prince of Condé and his unfortunate followers. Did that vain and unjuſt nation conſider how they had acted with reſpect to England, by encouraging the people who had unfortunately excited rebellion, and were found guilty by the laws of their country; that the regiment of Berwick was ſtill in their ſervice, and numbers of officers, who had been here in open rebellion, were ſtill in their pay?

The Prince of Condé had done nothing againſt any law, neither had his followers; they only choſe to retire from a country where neither perſons nor property were reſpected; and, therefore, the giving them an aſylum was

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only a duty impoſed upon the German princes by humanity.

How is the dignity of man fallen, and how low are the European nations ſunk if we dare not receive within our territories thoſe ſtrangers whom their virtues have exiled from their own, without being called to an account by haughty and imperious France?

That France had no cauſe for any complaint, was proved by a ſpeech which General Duportail made to the Aſſembly, when he was Miniſter of War; I do not remember the date, but the Aſſembly had ordered him to attend, to give an account of the ſtate of the frontiers, and deſired him to make arrangements, and give in eſtimates for forming ſeveral encampments towards Brabant and the German dominions. Duportail anſwered, that the enemy had, it was true, harboured the emigrants, that precautions might be neceſſary upon the French borders, that the fortifications ſhould be put in order, to reſiſt any attack, but that encampments, though internal meaſures, were by nations regarded

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regarded as hoſtile acts, and that it would be imprudent and unwarrantable.

This was thought ſo true at the time, that the Aſſembly gave up the point, much againſt their ordinary cuſtom, and hoſtile meaſures were delayed.

A ſpirit of diſcontent againſt other nations was nurſed carefully in Paris, and every thing ſaid againſt crowned heads was applauded; the numbers, the importance, and the force of the emigrants, was greatly magnified. Theſe poor gentlemen, deprived of their revenues, and afraid to return to their own country, very naturally, as the leaſt expenſive and moſt honourable way of living, aſſembled together, and ſpent their time in military exerciſes; I do not ſay, without a view to making their military habits and military ſkill one day uſeful in recovering them their property, but cheapneſs and amuſement were the firſt cauſes.

The princes in whoſe ſtates they aſſembled, did repeatedly iſſue orders to prevent thoſe military manœuvres, which, though made

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made by a handful of exiles, frightened the twenty-four millions of heroes with which France is peopled; who, while they boaſted of making all the world tremble, ſhook with fear at a danger that never exiſted, and certainly ought not to have coſt one half-hour's attention.

By degrees this fear worked up the minds of people, till there were above fifty thouſand troops in French Flanders, with preparations of artillery and ammunition, that threatened ſerious hoſtilities. It was then, towards the beginning of 1792, that the Emperor began to prepare to reſiſt an attack, that appeared to be meditated, and which was decidedly intended, to my certain knowledge, in February that year.

The treaty of Pilnitz was the only thing that gave a ſhadow of colour to inquietude on the part of France, with reſpect to the Emperor and King of Pruſſia; but it was but a ſhadow, for that treaty, which was made before the King of France accepted the conſtitution, had, though not annulled, been abandoned from the moment that the king

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and people ſeemed to be reconciled, which was ſix months previous to any hoſtilities.

M. Deleſſart, the unfortunate miniſter who was ſince maſſacred at Verſailles, while a priſoner, not being willing to excite an unjuſt war againſt the Emperor, was accuſed and thrown into priſon, without being heard: Dumourier then ſtarted from obſcurity into notice, became miniſter, and war was immediately declared.

The courier of the Imperial Ambaſſador was detained in Paris three days, and the Imperial dominions were attacked before it was known at Vienna that war had been declared.

M. Dillon's famous expedition, and his unfortunate end, were the firſt laurels of the French democracy. The attack of M. de Biron, and his repulſe, with great loſs, followed next, and all that before the ambaſſador's expreſs arrived at Vienna.

The inſults that were offered in the National Aſſembly to the two crowned heads in queſ-

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queſtion, before the beginning of hoſtilities, are proofs of the intentions and will of thoſe mock rulers who governed France, though it is needleſs here to repeat them, as it is clear that France begun the war without neceſſity.

To theſe things are to be added, that books were written in Paris againſt all kings, queens, or other rulers, in order to render them odious. Paris, in a word, was become a libel ſhop for attacking all ſorts of governments now eſtabliſhed in Europe, which, if not abſolutely a ſufficient grievance to give us a right to attack them, at leaſt ſtrengthens the other reaſons.

The over-running Brabant was fair enough, war having been once begun, but the attack upon Savoy was againſt all right and juſtice. The threats employed againſt Geneva were the ſame, and merit certainly that France, in her turn, ſhould be reduced *to reaſon.*

Next came the attack made upon our ally the Dutch, and war declared againſt us upon various frivolous and unjuſt pretences, ſuch

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ſuch as our ſubjecting Frenchmen to laws which their own bad conduct had rendered neceſſary, and which were much leſs ſevere than thoſe impoſed upon the Engliſh perſons in France; and our Court going into mourning for one of the moſt cruel and lamentable events that ever took place.

Holland was attacked, and run a very great riſque of being plundered by way of fraternization. The ſans culottes, who meant to diſtribute red bonnets, and buy breeches here, have not yet arrived, it is true, but they have probably found another reaſon for delaying it than want of will. Since declaring war againſt us and our allies, France, whether by way of carrying the ridicule to its greateſt height, or by way of ſhewing the extent of her folly and injuſtice, declared war againſt Spain.

From one end of Europe to the other, France has not one friend, and 5-6ths are her enemies, nor is there one that has attacked, ſhe has begun with them all, and has not been delicate about her reaſons.

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To ſatisfy her avarice, or her caprice, we muſt then go to war, and augment our taxes, and ſo muſt all the nations of Europe; it would be very curious, if all theſe nations ſhould join, at great expence and great riſk, to make her armies retire within her own dominions, and then politely retire. I think I ſee the different powers, with that delicacy and regard to the rights of nations, which ſome perſons would recommend, afraid to ſet foot upon the territory of France, taking leave of the French on the frontiers, forgiving them the blood and treaſure which it has coſt, and recommending to them for the future to ſtay at home.

Such conduct would, indeed, be very generous to the French; but what would it be to ourſelves? Is it fair, that we ſhould pay for this whimſical experiment of liberty, equality, and univerſal fraternization, or they who have gratified themſelves in making the experiment? or is it prudent to leave them in the ſituation of repeating the ſame frolic?

Certainly, if there is a point upon which men think ſeriouſly, it is this; certainly, if there

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there can be a time when mankind ſhould join hand in hand, to do juſtice to themſelves, to puniſh crimes, and ſecure their own happineſs, it is now. Yes, the ſword is unſheathed, and it ought not to be put into the ſcabbard, until not only we are paid for all the expences, (though the blood ſpilt never can be paid for) but until we are morally certain, that ſuch another attack upon the peace of mankind, never can again be made by that nation.

If an individual forfeits his rights, and may even incur the puniſhment of death, for having broke the laws of ſociety, by what rule is it that a nation may endanger the peace of and offend all other nations, and yet no puniſhment be inflicted? I know of none; but yet I do not deſire, that the nation thus offending ſhould be puniſhed, I only think, that ſhe ſhould, as far as is poſſible, repair the evil, and be put in a ſtate never to repeat the ſame again. This is certainly a very mild ſort of treatment, and the method of accompliſhing it becomes my next object.

The furious, ill-conducted, and mad attack upon other nations is nearly at an

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end for the preſent, but when the allied armies get into France, their difficulties will be very great, unleſs the interior diviſions in the country ſhould be very favourable to their deſigns, which it is to be hoped they will, the nation has been ſo fatigued with thoſe misfortunes which the extravagance of its rulers have brought on.

As far as I can judge of the ſtate of the minds of people in France, I think that *this* might be accompliſhed in the following way:

I.

A general act of *amneſty* to all, except a certain number of the leaders, who are known, and ſhould be named, with a reward for apprehending them, and which ſhould be limited to thoſe who have been moſt active in the preſent evils; and this ſhould be ventured upon the fact, that the far greater number have been only paſſive inſtruments put in action by the deſigning and the guilty.

II.

That the ancient government of France ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in the family of Bourbon,

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bon, and with ſome changes, which the nature of things and juſtice requires.

Theſe two articles alone to be general ones, and which concern the people as individuals, but the combined powers muſt reſerve to themſelves the right of indemnifying themſelves for the expences of the war, which the French have been the ſole occaſion of, and they muſt take thoſe methods of ſecuring the peace of Europe, and of France herſelf, that ſeem neceſſary.

In order to indemnify themſelves, ſeeing that it is impoſſible, under the preſent circumſtances, to exact a ſum of money, ſuch parts of the French dominions ſhall be detached as may be found a fair and juſt indemnification.

That as the whole maſs of France is too great and too powerful to be kept in order by any one monarch, in the preſent circumſtances and way of thinking, methods ſhall be taken to prevent that facility of counteracting the government which perpetuates anarchy and miſery.

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The internal arrangements of France, then are to be conſidered as they relate to the general peace of Europe, and the ſafety of other powers; the paying the expences of other powers incurred in bringing about peace and order; and laſtly, the eſtabliſhing of ſome order, to prevent that miſguided people from being the ſport of intrigue, and the victims of wild ambition and the paſſions of artful individuals.

In order to come at theſe objects, it will certainly be neceſſary to eſtabliſh monarchy in France, and as it has been already obſerved, that the French were not fit men for politics, and are ſtill leſs ſo now than ever, a *mixt government* will not do, it muſt be a monarchy as heretofore, with ſome changes undoubtedly, but by no means with repreſentatives like the Engliſh, becauſe thoſe repreſentatives would immediately find out a way of ſtopping and clogging the wheels of government ſo as to render it impracticable. This would ariſe from the nature of the French people, at any time, as I have already endeavoured to prove, but at preſent would be much more certain, for it is in vain

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vain to think, that men who are now ſo violent and unreaſonable would ſoon become otherwiſe.

Another thing that renders any idea of giving the people repreſentatives impoſſible to be practiſed with ſucceſs, is that miſtaken notion of the qualifications of electors. While men are repreſented, and property is not, the majority of electors will be ſans culottes, and therefore the majority of repreſentatives will be ſo likewiſe; this new ſyſtem of repreſentation, until fairly exploded, will render all repreſentative governments impracticable in Europe; and thoſe who ſeek after an equal repreſentation in other countries, would do well to conſider, that they may, ſhould they carry it too far, ruin liberty altogether.

To eſtabliſh the old government with ſuch modifications as circumſtances may be thought to require, will certainly be the beſt way, becauſe, as it is impoſſible to organize a government all at once, a mode muſt be adopted, of which the action is already known. The diviſions of departments and municipalities muſt all be done away, as incon-

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ſiſtent with any active and vigorous government, and the ancient diviſions of the kingdom muſt be renewed under that branch of the Houſe of Bourbon that has the beſt right to reign, ſhould that unfortunate and innocent youth, who now languiſhes in captivity, fall a victim to the murderers of his unhappy father.

In re-inſtating things in the beſt way that circumſtances will permit, and before we begin to conſider what muſt be done for the peace of Europe, we muſt take a view of the ſtate in which France will be.

A French gentleman made what I thought a very good obſervation upon France: when all this is over, ſaid he, France will be as if it were after the general deluge, except that the lands will be inhabited and cultivated; all ſorts of artificial riches will be at an end, with the fall of the aſſignats; and after that the things that the ſoil produces, will be the only wealth which the inhabitants will poſſeſs; luxury of all ſorts is already fled, houſes are become too great and too expenſive to keep in repair for the perſons that are to live in them; and, in

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one word, France is returned to the ſtate ſhe was in ſome centuries ago.

With all this, a national bankruptcy muſt take place, and France, which has been hitherto deeply loaded with a national debt, will find herſelf debarraſſed of that ruinous load; this is a ſerious circumſtance for all nations, and moſt of all for England.

France uſed to have a revenue of about twenty millions ſterling, ten of which went for intereſt of debt under various deſcriptions, or in French money nearly thus:

	Tournois.	Sterling.
Army	102,000,000	4,250,000
Navy	51,000,000	2,120,000
Rentes Viageres	102,800,000	4,280,000
Rentes Perpetuelles	76,000,000	2,910,000
Intereſt of Loans under different titles	26,000,000	1,000,000
Interior adminiſtration, including expences of the Court, Roads, Bridges, public Works, &c.	125,000,000	5,200,000
	482,800,000,	19,760,000

Though

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Though there was a deficit of fifty-six millions, which was ſpent more than this, ſtill the revenue amounted but to this ſum.

Above forty-five millions of capital has been re-imburſed with aſſignats, ſo that at preſent there does not remain above one hundred and fifty millions of intereſt to pay.

My opinion is, that this one hundred and fifty millions will be thrown off altogether; but ſuppoſe it is not, it will be reduced to one-third of the value the moment the aſſignats ceaſe, and payments are made in gold and ſilver; for it is never to be expected, that thoſe who get the ruling of affairs, be they who they may, will not take advantage of the diſcredit of the aſſignats, and thereby diminiſh the debt, which will be done as the Americans did with their continental paper dollars, they bought them all up at the depreciated value of the market, in order to reimburſe them at that rate: thus

Fifteen hundred millions of French paper is worth only ſix hundred millions in caſh: the new government will create a ſort of ſtock, the intereſt

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intereſt of which will be well ſecured, payable in caſh, and will be thirty millions a year, and of this thirty, part being life-rents, one-third will ſoon be extinct, ſo that France will have only a national debt of twenty millions a year intereſt, which is about eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, while we have ten millions.

But France retains her ſoil and her people. Without gilded palaces or rich equipages, ſhe poſſeſſes the moſt fertile and moſt populous country in Europe, and Saint Domingo, which alone produces to the mother country ſixty millions of clear revenue.

England has at her diſpoſition, of clear revenue, about ſix millions ſterling, or one hundred and fifty French millions, and ten millions of intereſt to pay.

France will probably be very able to raiſe three hundred and fifty millions annually, and will therefore, (twenty being deducted for intereſt) have three hundred and thirty millions, or nearly fourteen millions ſterling, at her diſpoſition. She will, therefore,

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therefore, be more than twice as rich as we are, and her affairs will be ſimple, and difficult to derange, whereas ours, from their complication, become difficult to keep in order, and may eaſily be put into confuſion.

Let us then reflect a little.—Should peace be eſtabliſhed, that country, out of all her miſery and misfortunes, will become a power that will be more dangerous than ever to Europe, and with which we ſhall never be able to cope at all.

I have always maintained that temporary advantages ſhould never guide nations; and I think it is very clear, that though France may be unable to meddle with us for eight or ten years to come, that is not enough. We ſhould look further before us, AND NOW OR NEVER IS THE TIME,

France has always been an ambitious nation. The wars of Louis XIV. began our national debt, thoſe of Louis XV. augmented it, and the ſupport given by France to America completed the enormous maſs under which we groan.

Their

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Their preſent troubles have for the moment cauſed another augmentation, and we are not yet ſure how far that augmentation may be carried before all is peaceable.

All the nations in Europe almoſt may ſay the ſame thing with ourſelves. The ambition of France has dragged Spain, as an ally, into as much debt as ſhe has forced on us as an enemy, and now ſhe gets rid of her own debt, and leaves all the others with theirs.

Unleſs the effects of this are foreſeen and prevented, all Europe muſt ſooner or later fall a ſacrifice; and how to prevent it is the object.

There ſeem to me to be two methods; one conſiſts in diminiſhing her means of becoming ſo rich and powerful, and the other, in the nations that join together indemnifying themſelves as far as poſſible for the loſs occaſioned by French affairs.

France has little riches ariſing from commerce except that with the Weſt India iſlands. Her whole exports for one year never exceed-

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ed about twelve millions ſterling, and the produce of St. Domingo alone went to near five millions imported into France, and afterwards exported.

Wines and brandy, the produce of the mother country, added to theſe Weſt Indian articles, were almoſt the only exports of France. Let them be reduced as they may, the ſoil will produce wines and brandies; ſo that if they keep their iſlands, the trade will be but little diminiſhed.

The geographical ſituation of France is another thing that gives her great means of becoming formidable in Europe. In the Mediterranea ſea, as well as on the main ocean, her coaſts and harbours render her formidable to all her neighbours. Her operations are quick and extenſive, and, excepting Spain, all the continental powers are under circumſtances that vaſtly counteract their energy and operations.

Germany is a vaſt empire, it is true, but then the will of the different princes is not always obliged to be the ſame, and the Empe-

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ror cannot give a movement to the whole mass by his own power.

Sardinia, Savoy, and Switzerland, are still less able to resist an attack from France.

Prussia become, from the warlike spirit of its inhabitants, and, above all, the genius of Frederick the Great, a power of great importance, is nevertheless small when compared to France, and the distance renders her action difficult and slow.

Russia, immense in extent and in population, but situated at the northern extremity of Europe, though perhaps the most capable in the end of making a stand against the ambition of those who would overturn Europe, is too far off to prevent those misfortunes which its centrical situation will always enable France to occasion.

Of the other European nations on the continent it is needless to speak in opposition to France.

It

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It is clear that France has had a great ſuperiority, and will have it again, although for the preſent, and for ſome time to come, ſhe is weakened and humbled.

To ſome perſons it may appear probable that France will leave off ambitious views, from bad ſucceſs; and, ſtill more, becauſe the government will get into the hands of a prince who will owe his re-inſtatement to neighbouring nations; and that therefore there is nothing to fear. For ſome time I grant there is not, but that time will not be long, if the internal proſperity of the country is reſtored; and, as I ſaid before, it is not for a few years that nations ought to lay plans.

The manner in which this campaign may end will, perhaps, in a great meaſure decide the fate of France, as far as it regards the peace of Europe; but upon the ſuppoſition that France, after endeavouring to give the law, ſhall be obliged to receive it, the following articles ſeem to me to be ſuch as tend towards the ſurety of general peace:

That

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That France ſhould be reduced in extent, by giving ſome of her provinces to the powers at war.

The Emperor and King of Pruſſia will require, in order to indemnify them for the expences and loſſes of the preſent war, ſome part, and that which is moſt contiguous is the moſt natural and the moſt advantageous.

Alſace, and the other provinces, as marked in the adjoining chart, have long been in the hands of France, let them be given up, with as much more as will indemnify the ancient monarch for the loſs which, during a century, he has ſuſtained, as well as for preſent loſſes. I ſhall ſuppoſe the account made up thus:

SUPPOSITIOUS STATEMENT.

FRANCE, Dr. to other Nations as under:

To the HOUSE of AUSTRIA:

Alſace, and Provinces conquered in the time of Louis XIV. to be reſtored.		
Damage ſuſtained in Brabant ſince the war commenced, ſuppoſe	10,000,000	
Expences of two campaigns, -	15,000,000	
Annuities to the widows and children of ſoldiers killed, - -	2,500,000	
		27,500,000

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To the KING of PRUSSIA, as under:

Expences of the two campaigns,	15,000,000	
Annuities to widows and orphans of soldiers killed, - -	3,000,000	
		18,000,000

To HOLLAND, as under,

Damages done,	2,000,000	
Expences of one campaign	7,000,000	
Annuities to widows,	500,000	
		9,500,000

To ENGLAND, as under:

Loss by ships taken,	1,000,000	
Disturbances in the interior,	1,000,000	
Expences of armament, -	7,000,000	
Annuities to widows and orphans (I hope very small) -	000,000	
		9,000,000

To SARDINIA, as under:

Damage done in Savoy, &c.	4,000,000	
Expences, - -	3,000,000	
Annuities to widows, -	500,000	
		7,500,000

To SPAIN, as under:

Preparations for war, - -	5,000,000

To RUSSIA—Preparations, - 5,000,000

To the POPE for Avignon,

To GENEVA for exciting a revolt,

As no country can pretend to lay France under tribute, the only practicable way that I see

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ſee of being repaid is, by taking poſſeſſion of part of their territories, which, as they can bear taxes to a much greater amount than the expences of governing, will produce a ſum to repay the capital expended.

Should the proportions which it will be found practicable to take contiguous to each foreign power not amount to, or ſhould it exceed the demand which that power has, then the difference muſt be made up by an exchange of ſomething elſe between the powers.

The chart which I have given is only intended to throw out a general idea; for as the ſums due are unknown, the affair not being yet ready to terminate, as well as the annual advantages that would ariſe from the poſſeſſion of theſe provinces, what I ſay can only be intended as an outline, without any attempt to exactneſs.

Beſides the diviſions on the chart which give ſome of the beſt of the northern provinces to the Emperor and King of Pruſſia, to

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Sardinia all that portion which is beyond the Rhone, and to Spain that part of the ſouth which is beyond the Canal of Languedoc, it would be neceſſary to indemnify England in another manner.

The trade of the Weſt India iſlands would be a better indemnity to us than any portion of land on the continent, which, indeed, we never could once have the mad ambition to wiſh for.

If Spain has got too much, we might be permitted to have ſome privileges in the Bay of Honduras, which would be advantageous to us, in return.*

*. The value of each province muſt be eſtimated thus, pretty nearly:

Of the ancient taxes about three-fifths went to the expence of government, and two-fifths for the intereſt of the national debt. Thus two-fifths of the taxes may be counted gain, as the ſeparated provinces will ceaſe to pay their proportion of the debt.

The annual revenues ariſing from taxes before the revolution are eaſily aſcertained, and from thoſe the revenues that can now be collected may be eſtimated, without making any very great error.

Holland

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Holland might have the French poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies; and the other claimants might be indemnified in the way that, according to the general intereſts of the coalition, might be found the moſt advantageous; but this never can be determined but by a long and ſerious inquiry and diſcuſſion of the queſtion amongſt the parties intereſted.

The independence of the iſland of Corſica ſhould be guaranteed.

This diviſion may ſeem ridiculous and unjuſt to thoſe who have an intereſt to find fault with it; but nothing is more certain than *the juſtice* of what I propoſe.

It is very evident that there may, nay, muſt be, errors in the ſuppoſed damages and expences, as well as in the indemnities; but that the principle is juſt and wiſe, I will maintain againſt all the world.

If I addreſs myſelf to the French democrats, I invoke the rights of man.—Repriſals for injuries are conſiſtent with the laws of na-

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ture, and with thoſe of ſociety, equally, and they are the foundation for the ſecurity of life and property. Why ſhould we pay taxes in this country for the commotions in France, and why ſhould we ſee orphans and widows wanting bread, becauſe the French have declared war againſt us and our allies? There can be no juſt reaſon for it: if we had not the means of redreſs there would be nothing to be ſaid, but as we have, not to put them in practice would be a *crying injuſtice.*

As the thing is juſt, ſo will I alſo endeavour to prove that it is wiſe; firſt of all, becauſe, except by taking a part of their territories, I know no way of being reimburſed, and, ſecondly, becauſe, by reducing the general force of the country, it becomes leſs dangerous to the peace of Europe; and, laſtly, better for herſelf.

In what conſiſts the welfare of a nation, if it is not in the total maſs of happineſs enjoyed by the individuals? And what is it that makes men individually happy? Is it freedom? Is it ſafety? Is it riches? Is it power? Is it the extent

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extent of the empire to which they belong? Is it the ruining of other nations by the gratification of their own ambition? No; it is none of all these things.

Liberty alone does not make men happy; they must enjoy protection and tranquillity in order to be so: but liberty, tranquillity, and safety are often at variance with each other, and never perfectly coincide, so that to be happy liberty must be in some degree abridged, and, above all, that unrestrained liberty of opinion, which wounds the very vitals of society and government.

Will that part of the French dominions which is separated from the rest be any worse for the inhabitants on that account? I do not see that it follows; and, at all events, it is better to be separated, and remain quiet, than to continue in that vast mass, which, by its fermentation, produces French fraternization and equality. I appeal to the Brabançons, who can judge from experience, if they were not more mildly treated by the Emperor, and more happy under the House of Austria, than

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under the Sans Culottes of the National Convention.

I do not think, then, that ſeparating France is by any means a cruel meaſure with reſpect to the inhabitants themſelves, nor do I believe there is any other by which that populous country could be kept at peace; it is, therefore, a merciful one, and ſhould be guaranteed by all the powers at war.

Before I quit the internal affairs of France, which I can only treat in a very general way, becauſe the detail of them muſt depend upon circumſtances yet to come, I muſt obſerve, that throughout the whole of that country it will be wiſe to re-eſtabliſh the clergy.

Firſt of all, becauſe the operation of robbing the clergy, beſides being unjuſt, was unprofitable, the ſalaries to be allowed to the clergy doing duty, and the life-rents to thoſe diſplaced, equalled the intereſt of all the prices of their lands, ſo that it would be burthenſome to the ſtate were the contracts to be fulfilled with the clergy. To get rid of which error in the calculation, they have

chaſed

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chaſed the poor prieſts out of the kingdom.*

Wiſdom, juſtice, and reſpect for religion require this; and beſides, it is unfit that a clergyman ſhould receive a ſalary which, though more expenſive to the ſtate, will not enable him to live ſo well and ſo reſpectably as the ſame revenue in land. At the ſame time, I own, the National Aſſembly did well in augmenting the ſalaries of the poor clergy, and diminiſhing the enormous ones of the rich.

As to the convents, I believe the general opinion of all people in France is, that they ſhould never be re-eſtabliſhed, for neither reli-

* The affair ſtands thus:

		Tournois.
Value of the clergy lands, ſeized and ſold		2,400,000,000
Salaries of clergy doing duty at 20 years purchaſe	1,664,532,000	
Life annuities of clergy ſuppreſſed at 20 years purchaſe	660,000,000	
		2,324,532,000
Surplus gained		75,468,000

The ſeventy-five millions gained will not produce but four millions a year, which is not ſufficient to pay the expences of the operation.

gion,

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gion, nor juſtice, nor policy, require that men ſhould labour hard to ſupport indolence and ignorance, ſuch as is found in convents.

The purchaſers of church lands will not loſe much, though they ſhould be expelled without any ceremony. And as ſomebody muſt loſe by what has been done, thoſe who have given their countenance to it, are the moſt fit to be the loſers.

There is a ſum nearly of ſeven hundred millions paid for church lands, but the annual revenues of theſe lands ought to be one hundred millions, and on an average, it is two years that they have been in the poſſeſſion of the purchaſers, ſo that the ſeven hundred millions are reduced to five hundred millions.

According to the preſent value of paper, thoſe five hundred millions are equal to two hundred millions in ſpecie. Now ſuppoſe that to be placed at five per cent, it makes ten millions a year to be paid by all the clergy of France, after they enter into their own lands again. This would be no great ſum, were it neceſſary; but it does not appear that it would be

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be ſo, particularly as many of the purchaſers required of the municipalities who hold theſe lands, to be guarantee for the poſſeſſion, which all the municipalities refuſed to do; they therefore bought at a riſk, the chance has turned againſt them, as it might have turned for them, and they are not to be pitied, it being all along conſidered that they were the ſtrongeſt democrates, and that of conſequence the loſs cannot fall better than upon them, as the democrates and their principles have been the cauſe of all that has happened.

In leaving now the internal affairs of France, let us conſider an event which is not yet at all unlikely to happen, although the Jacobins have been chaſed from Holland—I mean the INVASION of this country.

Although it can ſcarcely be expected, even by Briſſot and Kerſaint, that their falſe tree of liberty would flouriſh here, at the expence of our true one; yet a deſcent upon our coaſt may be attempted for other reaſons.

Unleſs the combined forces can, either by internal commotions, or ſome other mode, drive

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drive the National Convention from Paris, and from the helm of affairs, there are deſperate efforts yet to be expected. Seven hundred deſpots, all of them murderers and rebels, who have offended all the nations in Europe, who, on account of their crimes, can expect no quarter from any, muſt be conſidered as deſperate men, who will riſk every thing. Where can a Briſſot, Condorcet, Petion, Iſnard, Roberſpierre, or Marat, expect a retreat? Not certainly on earth, therefore they will never yield but at the laſt extremity.

Theſe wicked men have yet the keys of correſpondence with the whole of France; they and the Jacobin club can alone give a general motion to all parts of the kingdom; they can command all, and therefore they may be expected to run every riſk, and make every effort.

If added to deſperate circumſtances, a familiarity with bloodſhed and crime can render this more probable, we may certainly expect it.

The

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The invaſion of England has long been a favourite ſcheme of the democratic party, it flatters their hardy and empty vanity, and they think that it would frighten the Engliſh. There are men alſo, both in and out of the Aſſembly, who have weight enough to be liſtened to, who think that England, depending intirely upon credit, might be ruined by a fright, without any thing more. As the fall of the ſtocks would be the conſequence of an invaſion, however inconſiderable, the expences of it might be paid by a ſucceſsful operation, and monied people, in the ſecret, might make their fortune. It is not, therefore, at all unlikely that it will be attempted, as a means of gratifying their gaſconade, ſupplying their chiefs with ready money, and getting rid of ſome of their uſeleſs hands.

It is certain that ſuch an undertaking was intended, and it is not known whether it is yet abandoned, becauſe, though leſs ſanguine hopes muſt be entertained, yet the neceſſity for it is become ſtill greater, there being now but two things to do, either to make a great and vigorous laſt effort, or to give up the point and ſubmit.

With

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With an idea that this is by no means unlikely to happen, although the reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs are diminiſhed, I thought the following eſſay, intitled with great modeſty a RHAPSODY, by the late General Lloyd, might be of great uſe.

As all the evils we have to apprehend from an invaſion, are thoſe which the ſudden panic might occaſion, and principally the fall of ſtocks, this rhapſody of the General's is of great importance; becauſe, while it proves the poſſibility of a ſucceſsful invaſion, it ſhews us very clearly that no invaſion can take *place with any hopes of ſucceſs, unleſs when our enemies* ARE MORE POWERFUL AT SEA THAN OURSELVES. Now this is ſo far from being the caſe at preſent, that we may reſt aſſured, that if an invaſion is made, it will only afford us an opportunity of gaining a victory.

Should any one ſay, that it is now too late to ſpeak of an invaſion, I would anſwer, that while thirty-two thouſand militia are in pay, are in activity, and watching our coaſts, a few ſheets of paper printed upon the *object of*

their

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their attention, cannot be conſidered as a ſuperfluous work, when, like General Lloyd's, it is a work of real merit, and when it tends to prevent the moſt dangerous conſequence an invaſion could have, which is a panic fear, that might cauſe diſorder and a fall of the ſtocks.

P. S. Since this has been in the preſs, the Counter Revolution, as it is called, has taken place by the rebellion of Dumourier and part of his army, againſt the National Convention.

As for Counter Revolution, how far it may be ſo called, does not ſeem very clear. The change of affairs is, indeed, great, but whether the peace of France and ſafety of Europe are likely to be promoted by it, is a very difficult matter to determine.

An army of banditti, headed by a man who has always turned about as his own ambition and his own intereſt directed, going againſt an aſſembly of regicides and robbers is certainly a ſtrange enough event, and muſt produce very extraordinary and important conſequences, ſhould it really take place.

Such

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Such a circumſtance as this of Dumourier's marching againſt Paris, could only ariſe in a revolution when the ſcum of the nation has got to the top. The injuſtice of the Aſſembly in ſending to arreſt their general, the moment he was unſucceſsful, and his taking ſteps to ſave himſelf by deſtroying what he had himſelf had the principal hand in creating, are nearly about equal.

Dumourier, who of all the men in France could alone have ſaved Louis XVI. his king, and his benefactor, and who might be ſaid to preſide at the execution, ſets off to re-eſtabliſh monarchy the inſtant that his own intereſt goes contrary to that of the ruling party.

O ye revolutioniſts! in whatever country ye are, conſider how millions are reduced to be the inſtruments of the paſſions and intereſts of the few, when once the bonds of ſociety are broken; what oceans of blood, and what hours of miſery, are the price at which ſuch men as rule in France purchaſe a momentary ſplendor and a criminal glory! How are you, ye French democrats, the

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dupes of thoſe who know how to flatter your paſſions; already there are three ſets of villains who have ruled over you with abſolute ſway, under the pretence of giving you liberty, and enriched themſelves at the ſame ime that they have reduced you to the loweſt ſtate of poverty and miſery.

Every new turn that French affairs take proves more undeniably the impoſſibility of their being ſettled without the interference of other nations, and the vicious and ſelfiſh motives of thoſe who take the lead in theſe revolutions, to which, for theſe four laſt years, that unfortunate country has been a prey, are each day more viſible.

Of all the blunders to be avoided at this time, that of re-eſtabliſhing the conſtitution made in 1790 and 1791 is the principal, as with all the vices of the republican and levelling ſyſtem, it carries a plauſibility of form that has already produced a very bad effect upon the minds of men, and may do ſo again, beſides being in itſelf impracticable, and therefore leading to a repetition of that ſame anarchy that has coſt ſo dear.

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The nature of the campaign will, at all events, be greatly changed, and perhaps military operations may give place to negociations, by which means much blood that would have been ſhed will be ſpared, which is moſt ſincerely to be wiſhed; but in other reſpects I think it very doubtful, whether the ultimate ſettlement of affairs is greatly advanced or not.

The principal advantage perhaps is, that ſuch conſummate vice on one hand, and dupery on the other, will certainly ſhew all men the folly of the French revolution, taking it from the beginning to the preſent moment; it is probable likewiſe, that thoſe wicked men who have aboliſhed morality and religion, who have trampled under foot all diſtinctions of ſociety, and chaſed away the proprietors of the ſoil from their lands, and the clergy from the altars, will finiſh with cutting one another's throats, and thereby rid the world of a ſet of monſters, who have only been produced to exhibit their crimes and their follies with ſuch an enormous eclat, as will inſtruct mankind, in future, to ſhun thoſe theories

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theories by which France has been undone.*

The moſt evident advantages ariſing from this quarrel between the Convention and Dumourier is, that the lands of the emigrants will be ſooner delivered to them, and the proverb will be fulfilled, that when rogues differ, honeſt men come by their own; for although the eſtabliſhing a proper government may be out of their power, it is clear, that the democratic ſyſtem has received a blow that it will with difficulty recover.

Should things turn out ſo, that no more battles will be fought between the combined powers and the French nation, then it is evident their expences will be conſiderably leſs; in that caſe, the portions to be ſeparated from France will be leſs alſo, becauſe, although

* The utility of fable in conducting the mind by a ſimple tale has always been felt, and univerſally acknowledged. The following one of the late Mr. Gay is ſo applicable to the French philoſophers, as deſcriptive of their arrogance and their blunders, that I cannot help referring to it. *See Fable of Gay, The Bear and the Boat.*

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policy requires that ſeparation, it is juſtice that ſhould determine its extent; the combined powers certainly never can ſucceed ſo completely in rooting out from the earth a ſyſtem of depredation and robbery, as by regulating their own conduct by what is juſt.

There remains but one thing for me at preſent to ſay on this ſubject of dividing France, which is, that perhaps the propoſing it openly, and diſcuſſing the queſtion thus publicly, inſtead of facilitating the matter, may render it more difficult to accompliſh.

It is perhaps true, that the combined armies may meet with more reſiſtance, if it is thought that a diviſion of territory will enſue, than if that remains unthought of until they are in the heart of the country; but in my opinion, this is the beſt reaſon for canvaſſing the queſtion now, becauſe nothing is ſo much to be avoided as an arrangement, of which the neceſſity of the moment alone is the cauſe.

Were I to be conſulted, I ſhould adviſe the combined forces to publiſh their intentions

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tions before they advance too far into the interior of the country, whether thoſe intentions are for a diviſion or not; then would they, beſides acting openly and nobly, have the great advantage of ſeeing their friends and enemies at once; and their intentions would not be put in practice, until they had by force ſubdued thoſe who were inimical to them.

It is a very dangerous ſyſtem, and generally is attended at leaſt with diſappointment, to propoſe hard terms, that were not expected at a moment when reſiſtance is impoſſible; the unfairneſs of it revolts all, and the firſt occaſion that is favourable the diſcontents break out.

The revolution of France itſelf has offered a continued ſeries of evils, that have ariſen from that ſort of inſidious conduct that the party in power has purſued, of increaſing the demands according to its force. The real opinion of the people has never been known; hence continual diſagreement and contradiction have taken place, as people thought themſelves always at liberty to counteract mea-

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ſures, to which they were conſcious they had never given their willing conſent.

Although, perhaps, it is not giving a voluntary conſent to have terms propoſed by an enemy, and then to decide the matter by the ſword, and the vanquiſhed to obey, yet the mind is much better ſatisfied with it, and men conſider themſelves bound in honour to adhere to what, under ſuch circumſtances, they have agreed to. Whereas, ſhould the combined forces enter France, upon a pretence only of ſettling a reaſonable government, and then propoſe a diviſion, when all the ſtrong places were in their hands, it would revolt both friends and enemies.

Such is my way of thinking, but ſhould I be wrong, the canvaſſing of this important queſtion by an individual can do no harm, as it has no connection with the real views of either party.

The affairs of France go on in ſuch a rapid progreſſion, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to keep pace with them. The laſt affairs, extraordinary as they are, have changed but little

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little in the general ſituation of things. France is not much weakened by the defection of Dumourier, and the allied armies have not gained any more ſtrength. The French are too corrupted at preſent to be faithful to their general in any cauſe whatever. Judge then, if it ever can be expected, that they will be able to perſevere in the cauſe of order and juſtice long enough to eſtabliſh a government in their country.

Amongſt the difficulties which the enemies of France ſtill have to ſtruggle with, that of the reſource which the aſſignats produce is the greateſt. If I am not misinformed, the defection of Dumouriet's army, when on his return to Paris, was purchaſed at the price of ten millions in aſſignats, or about twenty-four pounds a man. While the paper can produce ſuch an effect where thoſe ridiculous aſſignats, thrown off by a printing-preſs in millions, can ſerve for money, the allied armies muſt expect great difficulties. Once more do I ſay, we muſt ſave the blood and treaſure of other nations at the expence of theſe aſſignats, for though

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their courſe muſt of itſelf ſtop, although their perpetual diminution is preparing for France every ſort of calamity, yet the allied powers are waſting their forces alſo; they are paying in ſolid gold and ſilver, which they are obliged to œconomiſe for thoſe ſame objects which France pays with paper, created at will, and ſpread abroad without any ſort of œconomy whatever.

If order, good diſcipline, and, above all, a good cauſe, give ſuperiority of force to the allied armies, it muſt at leaſt be allowed, that their inferiority in point of treaſure is great, as long as the aſſignats ſerve for money. Let all mankind, therefore, join to diſcredit and ruin that paper, which, owing its origin to a ſacrilegious robbery, has been perpetually employed to hire the robber and the murderer, which has deſtroyed the peace of Europe, and ſerves yet as a ſupport to thoſe monſters who have aſtoniſhed and affrighted the world with the multitude and atrocity of their crimes.

It

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It is probably rather a fortunate than an unfortunate circumſtance, that Dumourier did not march againſt Paris and ſucceed; for, as it appears, that the Prince de Cobourg had an intention to ſecond him in re-eſtabliſhing the conſtitution of 1789, 1790, and 1791, the miſeries of France and of all Europe would thereby have been prolonged, for no good can ever come of a conſtitution in which you have all the extravagant principles of the preſent democracy, and which is in itſelf impracticable.

One word more is neceſſary about the conſtitution. If ſo great a general as the Prince de Cobourg can be led away by the idea of re-eſtabliſhing it, it is ſtill dangerous.

Of the people who begun laying the foundation of this conſtitution, L'Abbé Sieyes and Rabaut de St. Etienne were two of the chief, and thoſe two both ſit in the Aſſembly at preſent; Target, whoſe name is a diſgrace, ſince he refuſed to plead for his ſovereign, was the man who laboured the moſt

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moſt indefatigably in the detail of the conſtitution, and was called its mother at the time it was produced.* This man refuſed to plead for the King, *alledging his known attachment to republican principles.* There are many more of the conſtitutionaliſts become republicans, ſuch as Petion, Camus, now priſoner at Maeſtricht, &c. and there is little doubt but that this impracticable conſtitution was intended only as a ſtep between monarchy and a republic, otherwiſe we ſhould not now find thoſe men ſo placed, nor ſhould we at the very time have ſeen that royalty which made a part of the conſtitution continually trampled upon and debaſed, being held up as an object ſometimes of horror, and ſometimes of contempt to the people.

The philoſophers of republican anarchy did neither want ſyſtem nor cunning at any

* Amongſt the witty productions of the preſent day, the Acts of the Apoſtles, written at Paris in the firſt years of the Revolution, is one of the firſt. The ridicule of Target and his conſtitution is there painted in very lively and very true colours,

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ſtage of their buſineſs, and their conſtant plan was to lead the people from one ſtep of extravagance to another; and, on many occaſions, when meaſures were propoſed, it has been obſerved by one of the party, that the propoſition was good, but was too ſoon: thus did they watch the perverſion of the human mind in its progreſs, as a parent watches the progreſs in virtue of a favourite child.

The total deſtruction of the Chriſtian religion was propoſed, and a comedian and a painter were employed to invent a new one, more correſpondent with liberty and equality than Chriſtianity, which teaches, that the ſervant is not above his maſter, and that we ſhould give to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's. It was however obſerved, that philoſophy had not yet made progreſs enough in the provinces, that the ſans-culottes of Paris were, indeed, capable of throwing off the prejudices of religion, but that other ſix months were neceſſary for the ignorant people of the country.

When

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When in any thing the conſtitution is moderate, it muſt be attributed entirely to the people not having been ripe at the time, for, take it altogether, nothing can be compoſed more upon levelling and republican principles, at the ſame time that it is in itſelf totally impracticable.

May the good genius of Europe, and the good ſenſe of mankind, prevent us from ever ſeeing that conſtitution re-eſtabliſhed, as it will but prolong the miſchief; and it is our buſineſs, now that we are in arms, to finiſh the matter completely, ſo that when we leave off, we may ſay that the work is done.

Although the diſorders in the interior of France are very favourable to the combined powers, although they will greatly ſhorten the time which the preſent mob government can ſtand out; although they will add to the diſcredit of the aſſignats, and augment all thoſe evils which are the attendants upon civil war and anarchy, yet any very general revolt, or any very ſucceſsful one, is not to be

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be expected. All the magiſtrates of every ſort (and every twelfth or fourteenth man is one throughout the kingdom) are intereſted in ſupporting the preſent ſyſtem they have either pillaged, or mean to pillage, by means of their office. All the purchaſers of church lands, and all the holders of aſſignats are for the preſent order, ſo that the number of its partiſans is prodigious. But ſtill greater than their number is their means of counteracting all revolt, as they hold alone all the keys of correſpondence, and can, therefore, prevent the general combination that is neceſſary for a great and effectual rebellion.

We muſt diſtinguiſh very carefully between thoſe partial diſturbances which ariſe out of the love of pillage and equality, and thoſe ſerious attacks upon the preſent rulers, that ariſe from loyalty and a love of another order of things; the one is natural and unavoidable in the preſent diſordered ſtate of government, the other is contrary to the preſent ſtate of things.

In

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In a word, to ſuppoſe that the friends of order are ſufficiently numerous in France to combat the other party, is totally to miſtake the ſtate of the country: the powers of Europe muſt, therefore, aid and foment all theſe revolts, draw all the advantages from them poſſible, but muſt not depend upon them any farther than as being an aid, and they muſt proceed until France is in a condition to receive the law from them.

A principle by which the Romans extended their conqueſts will be of uſe in this caſe: in treating with a vanquiſhed enemy, they either were very full of clemency or of rigour; they either made friends or ſubjects of a conquered enemy, according to circumſtances. So Europe, in this caſe, muſt act with France; either that country muſt be left alone to arrange the interior as ſhe pleaſes, or her ſtrength muſt be diminiſhed, and a government muſt be given to her under ſuch a general guarantee as will aſſure its durability.

As

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As to leaving her free, the impolicy and injuſtice of that I have laboured to prove; as to the putting her in the condition to receive the law, it is only to be done by leſſening her extent. The ſyſtem of diviſion is, therefore, the only one that ſeems to be applicable to the preſent caſe, or capable of attaining the end in view, which is general peace and general happineſs.

The following work of General Lloyd, containing as it does an excellent diſcuſſion on the difficulties of invaſions, may be applied to France as well as England, and is not unworthy of attention from the generals of the combined armies, at a moment when the invaſion of France is the object in view.

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A

RHAPSODY

ON THE

PRESENT SYSTEM

OF

FRENCH POLITICS;

ON THE

PROJECTED INVASION,

AND THE

MEANS TO DEFEAT IT.

BY

GENERAL LLOYD.

Illuſtrated with a CHART *of the oppoſite* COASTS *of* ENGLAND *and* FRANCE.

Pro Aris & Focis.
CHARLES XII. at BENDER.

1779.

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A

RHAPSODY

ON

FRENCH POLITICS, &c.

IT is impoſſible to calculate, with any degree of probability, the duration and event of a war, unleſs we are acquainted with the political ſyſtem, principles of government, and reſources of the contending powers. I ſhall, therefore, give a ſhort view of them, which will enable the reader to form ſome judgement of the preſent ſtate of affairs.

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CHAP. I.

WHILE the Houſe of Auſtria was all-powerful in Europe, and poſſeſſed of many provinces on the weſt ſide of the Rhine, now united to France, it was evident that the French nation could have no other permanent ſyſtem of politics, but that which tended to reduce that Houſe within narrower bounds, particularly in the Low Countries, and towards the Rhine. Accordingly, we find France continually employed in raiſing diſturbances in Germany, Italy, Spain, &c. and exciting the different powers of Europe and Turkey againſt Auſtria. Richelieu having reduced the Hugonots, took an active part at the latter end of the war, which had been maintained in Germany for near thirty years: and by the treaty of Weſtphalia, the French, as one of the guarantees, obtained a right to interfere in the affairs of Germany, of which they have availed themſelves on every occaſion to embarraſs the Houſe of Auſtria.

More

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More than once, they brought her to the brink of deſtruction, and had it not been for the powerful ſupport and aſſiſtance of the maritime powers, particularly of England, ſhe muſt have fallen a victim to the ambition of France. Thoſe powers who feared Auſtria, very naturally looked up to France for protection, and increaſed her ſtrength by the addition of their forces.

During the minority of Louis XIV. the adminiſtration of Mazarine was almoſt totally confined to domeſtic occurrences, which were ſufficiently embarraſſing to occupy his whole attention.

Lewis XIV. on taking the reins of government, purſued the ſyſtem of his predeceſſors with regard to Auſtria. Having, in the beginning of his reign, met with great ſucceſs in war, and added ſome provinces to his crown, he became ambitious, from that principle, rather than from neceſſity, (for he was already ſufficiently powerful to have nothing to fear from Auſtria) Lewis did not ceaſe to embroil Europe almoſt during his whole reign. In the courſe of his wars he

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found himſelf checked, chiefly by the maritime powers; England was out of his reach; without ſhips of war nothing could be done againſt her. Seconded by able miniſters, in a few years, to the aſtoniſhment of all the world, he raiſed a powerful fleet, and, for a little time, maintained a ſuperiority at ſea, of which he availed himſelf in an attempt to reinſtate James II. on the throne of England, but without ſucceſs. The confederacy formed againſt the French monarch on the continent became ſo powerful, particularly towards the cloſe of his reign, that the whole force of his kingdom was ſcarce ſufficient to reſiſt the progreſs of the allied armies. The marine was of courſe abandoned, and ſunk nearly into the inſignificant ſtate in which he found it. Soon after Lewis XV. had mounted the French throne, Cardinal Fleury became prime miniſter; happily for France, who wanted peace to recover from the innumerable loſſes which the ambition of Lewis XIV. had brought upon her. This prelate, from principle, as well as temper, purſued invariably a pacific ſyſtem; the wars excited by the turbulent ſpirit of Alberoni for the kingdom of Naples, and that on the *Rhine*, occaſioned

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ſioned by the *pretenſions* of Auguſtus II. to the throne of Poland, were tranſitory, and of very ſhort duration. The Houſe of Auſtria having imprudently engaged in that quarrel, Fleury availed himſelf of her diſtreſsful ſituation, to tear Lorrain from her, which connected and completed the French frontier on the German ſide.

On the death of Charles VI. a new and general war broke out in Germany, wherein the maritime powers engaged alſo. Cardinal Fleury wiſhed to keep France neuter, believing either that Auſtria would find ſufficient employment from the ſeveral princes who formed pretenſions to the Emperor's ſucceſſion; and that, by remaining neuter, the French might mediate and dictate the terms of peace, without partaking of the dangers and expences of the war: or, perhaps, judging that France, recovered from her loſſes, and ſtrengthened by her new acquiſitions, would always be a match for Auſtria hereafter, whatever might be the event of the war. The cardinal, however, was over-ruled, and a general confederacy was formed againſt the Houſe of Auſtria, which tended to annihi-

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late her entirely: indeed, the ſucceſs did not anſwer the hopes and expectations of the confederates; and things remained, in great part, as they were at the commencement of the war. The King of Pruſſia acquired Sileſia, the King of Sardinia increaſed his poſſeſſions in Lombardy, and a ſettlement was procured for Don Philip in the ſame country. The French and Spaniſh trade ſuffered greatly in the courſe of this war; for the expences of the land armies in Germany and Italy were ſo exceſſive, that no effort could be made by theſe two powers to eſtabliſh a marine; ſo that we remained entirely maſters of the ſea. Our trade and navigation increaſed, and furniſhed the means to purſue the war on the continent. France, in the mean time, excited diſturbances in Scotland, which ſoon were quelled: becauſe, for want of a marine, ſhe could not ſupport them, had ſhe really meant to do it.

The laſt war offers us a new ſyſtem of politics adopted by the French, contrary and oppoſite to that which they had for many ages proſecuted. The Houſe of Auſtria being no longer an object of fear or jealouſy, they engaged

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gaged in a confederacy, calculated for her aggrandizement, at the expence of a prince whoſe alliance they had heretofore, and ought always to have courted. However formidable they might believe France to be, Auſtria had likewiſe increaſed in wealth, power, and, above all, her adminiſtration, in regard to finances, &c. was much improved. It ſeemed, therefore, highly advantageous for the French, that there ſhould be princes in Germany able, in ſome degree, to check the power of Auſtria. Pruſſia was, of all others, the moſt proper to be oppoſed to her, as they had done it with ſucceſs during the preceding war. There is no explaining a ſyſtem ſo very contrary to the apparent intereſts of France, unleſs we ſuppoſe that court had an after-game to play, as circumſtances might offer, during the courſe of the hoſtilities.

The French originally engaged to furniſh only twenty-four thouſand men, avowedly to deliver Saxony; and, if that had been effected, it is probable they would have forced the contending parties to conclude ſuch a peace as they approved of. They had a numerous army to enforce their mediation. I can-

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cannot think they intended ſeriouſly to promote in the leaſt the greatneſs of their ancient rivals in power, and much leſs at the expence of Pruſſia, whom they will find a powerful and neceſſary ally, in caſe of any future war with the former. The negociations at Teſchen laſt year, and the part they acted there, evince that they are not real friends to the Houſe of Auſtria.

By engaging partially in the war in Germany, it is probable the French thought they might direct their principal attention to their marine, and to the defence of their colonies. All their ſchemes were defeated by the extraordinary efforts of the King of Pruſſia and the allied army. Their new-raiſed fleet being beat and diſperſed, our ſuperiority at ſea enabled us to overcome every obſtacle; we conquered all we attacked, and reduced the Houſe of Bourbon ſo low, that we might have preſcribed any terms of peace. Unhapppily we miſtook entirely in the choice of our acquiſitions, ſome of which, ſo far from being advantageous, have been one of the principal cauſes that brought the preſent calamities upon us. We attend too much

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to the contracted, and very often ſelfiſh, views of the merchants; we act upon too narrow a ſcale, like traders, and ſeldom as a powerful nation. In forming treaties, a Miniſter ſhould have the whole globe before his eyes, and by no means confine himſelf to this or that province, or branch of trade; theſe are not to be overlooked, but they muſt never ſerve as a foundation for a treaty, unleſs you mean to reduce the nation to a company of mercantile people. Towards the end of the war the Duke of Choiſeul became all-powerful in the French miniſtry. He is a man of a bold, extenſive, and enterpriſing genius. His country found in him the vaſtneſs of Richelieu, the activity of Louvois, the magnificence of Seignelay, the amableneſs of Pompone, and .... they diſmiſſed him. He projected and concluded the Family Compact, which unites the different branches of the Houſe of Bourbon in the cloſeſt connection, and we now ſee the effects of that maſter-piece of politics.

The great loſſes that the French ſuffered during the laſt war, the imminent danger with which the taking of the Havannah, in particular,

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particular, threatened the reſt of the Spaniſh dominions in America, very naturally drew the whole attention of both nations to us. It was obvious that while we were ſuperior at ſea, notwithſtanding the diſproportion of our land forces, in any future conteſt, their Colonies would always be expoſed to the ſame danger, and if loſt, might not always be reſtored at a peace. They have therefore attended to their marine alone; and have purſued this meaſure with ſuch induſtry and activity, that a fleet has been raiſed by them which aſtoniſhes Europe, and muſt be very alarming to England. It is impoſſible to foreſee how far ſucceſs may correſpond with their force or their ambition. Their views are great, and tend to reduce us within very narrow limits. That nothing ſhould divert them from their main object, the French have, with the utmoſt care, avoided and prevented a German war, which might have engaged a part of their forces, and fruſtrate the general deſign againſt our country.

The preſent ſtate of affairs enables us to reſolve a political problem, often diſcuſſed within and without doors, viz. Whether continental

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tinental connections are uſeful or otherwiſe to this nation? I need not recapitulate the arguments for and againſt them; ſuffice it to ſay, that while we paid allies on the continent, the attention of France was ſo entirely taken up in the different wars in Germany, that ſhe could not raiſe a marine in any degree proportioned to our's; that we have conſtantly maintained a deciſive ſuperiority at ſea, which increaſed the power, glory, and political influence of the nation, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums which were ſent abroad for ſuch connections; that ſince we have abandoned the continental ſyſtem, France has acquired an unlimited influence in the different courts of Europe; without anxiety on that ſide, ſhe has been enabled to direct the whole force of the Houſe of Bourbon againſt England alone, and God knows what may be the iſſue of this, I fear, unequal conteſt. Let us draw a veil over ſuch an alarming proſpect: let every man exert himſelf to the utmoſt of his power for the ſervice of his king and country, that we may avert the ſtorm which hangs over our heads, and baffle the efforts of our combined enemies.'

Whoever

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Whoever conſiders the poſition of England, and of its colonies, will perceive that our very exiſtence depends on this circumſtance alone, viz. that we ſhould be ſuperior at ſea; all our politics ought therefore to be directed to that object ſingly. Had we millions of armed men, equal in diſcipline to the Pruſſians, they can be of no uſe to defend our trade or colonies; and if we are reduced to defend England, all is over. Why has our fleet been neglected? Why have the national funds been conſumed and exhauſted to multiply land forces, inſtead of being applied to raiſe a powerful fleet, which is the only force that can protect us? It is impoſſible to explain this by any principle of reaſon; our militia alone are more than ſufficient to repel any invaders, if our fleet be ſuperior to theirs; and even the idea of an invaſion in that caſe is abſurd. Standing armies appear an uſeleſs burthen; and now, to our coſt, they will be found totally inadequate to the defence of England and its colonies.

Having abandoned continental connections, it became more than ever neceſſary to apply all our reſources to the fleet. The queſtion

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is by no means, whether it be equal or ſuperior to what it was at any other period? I aſk, why it is not ſuperior to the fleet of the Houſe of Bourbon? Does it ariſe from want of funds or men? Why do we not appropriate the ſums employed in levying numberleſs corps to build ſhips, and raiſe twenty or thirty thouſand marines? Why are not the new levies converted into marines? With proper encouragement this may be done, and unleſs it is done, we ſink under the ſuperior forces of the enemies.

Land forces are nothing. Marines are the only ſpecies of troops proper for this nation; they alone can defend and protect it effectually. During the peace they garriſon all your ports in each quarter of the globe; in time of war your fleet is inſtantly manned; and by employing many of them, fewer ſeamen are wanted in proportion. Beſides, a fleet having on board twelve or fifteen thouſand marines, is equal to almoſt any enterprize againſt the enemy's ſettlements, and keeps them in continual anxiety in every part of the world. By this means the expence and delays attending the embarkation of a conſiderable

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derable body of land forces, deſtined to attack the enemy, would be ſpared, and the ſucceſs become more certain. Every other method to prevent the final ruin of this country will be hurtful or ineffectual. *A powerful fleet, and thirty thouſand marines*, I repeat it, *will ſave us from deſtruction, and nothing elſe.*

CHAP.

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CHAP. II.

Of the Force of Nations.

NO author that I know of has given any data which can enable us to calculate the force of nations; it is therefore with diffidence that I propoſe my ideas on the ſubject. I think that the power and ſtrength of a nation depend on the number of its inhabitants, and the quantity of their induſtry. This can be found and eſtimated only by the yearly revenues raiſed on the ſubject, which bear a given proportion to the yearly production of the whole nation. It is the revenue which enables the ſovereign to maintain fleets and armies. It is the number of inhabitants which furniſhes men for the one and the other; and in theſe I place the abſolute force of a nation; for its relative force will depend on poſition, quality of induſtry, ſtrength of contiguous powers, military ſyſtem, nature of the government, &c. which vary often in

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the courſe of a few years. It is therefore neceſſary we ſhould attend only to the abſolute force of nations, when we compare them with each other, in order to form a general ſcale, by which we meaſure their ſtrength.

France contains above twenty millions of inhabitants: the yearly revenues of that kingdom amount to above ſixteen millions ſterling, five of which being appropriated to pay the intereſt of the national debt, eleven only will remain free, and, according to our ſyſtem, the abſolute force of the French nation will be thirty-one.

Spain contains more than ſeven millions and a half of inhabitants in Europe, and above two in America, with a yearly revenue of above five millions; ſo that her abſolute force will amount to about fifteen. Conſequently the abſolute force of the Houſe of Bourbon will be found equal to forty-ſix.

To this ſum may be added that of our revolted colonies, which increaſes ſtill the force united againſt us.

I wiſh

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I wiſh that others, better informed than I am, would calculate the force of my own country upon this principle, and compare it with that of the Houſe of Bourbon: though the contraſt might appear very unfavourable to England, I don't doubt but her relative force, compared alſo with that of her enemies, would make amends for the enormous diſproportion in point of inhabitants and revenues.

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CHAP. III.

Of the Analogy between the Form of Government and the State of War.

DESPOTISM acts with the rapidity of a torrent; like it, it leaves desolation and solitude behind, or it declines into a lethargy. In despotism there is no system; its motions are instantaneous, and arise from trifles, or the caprice of a moment. They are extremely violent, but transitory. If you can resist, or more safely avoid, their first impetuosity, you will easily conquer in the end.

Monarchy, though not so violent and rapid in its motions, is sufficiently strong to collect and exert the national forces. When endowed with wisdom, it directs them, so that they procure the most general and permanent advantages. It is like a majestic river, which, if kept within bounds, and its waters judiciously distributed, embellishes and enriches

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the country. But when adminiſtration is too violent, this beneficent river becomes a torrent, and ruins the country: If weak, it branches out into a thouſand ſmall rivulets, which finally dwindle to nothing.

As in monarchies the whole power of the ſtate is centered in one man, and the exerciſe of it depends upon his will alone, to prevent a ſudden and capricious uſe of it, which in a ſhort time might ruin the ſtate, it ought to be a maxim eſtabliſhed in this kind of government, that the adminiſtration ſhould be confided to many people, that the departments ſhould be ſeparated, and that the council of ſtate ſhould be numerous, becauſe the government of one man being naturally quick and violent, it requires a number of checks to prevent an improper uſe, or rather abuſe, of ſuch extenſive powers.

As all military operations require vigour and conſtancy, it is evident that a monarchical government is ſingularly adapted to war. Different from deſpotiſm, regular plans and ſyſtems may be purſued, and the government is ſufficiently ſtrong to execute them with

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the neceſſary vigour. As the ſubjects are attached to the ſovereign chiefly by the idea of glory, they cheerfully concur with him in ſupporting an offenſive war; if ſucceſsful, their efforts increaſe, and therefore are not eaſily checked. Misfortunes, and conſequently a defenſive war, allay their courage. They ſoon perceive they do not fight for themſelves, and feel only the miſeries of the war, which they ſuppoſe is carried on to gratify the ambition and caprice of the ſovereign, or of ſome favourite. Hence it is that monarchies in general are more adapted to an offenſive than a defenſive war.

Purſuing the metaphor adopted above, I will ſay that a republican government is like a great river, formed by a multiplicity of ſprings and rivers, different in that from a deſpotic, or a monarchy, which ariſes from one alone. If the compariſon be juſt, it follows, that in this kind of government there ſhould be a ſufficient force to collect and unite the different ſprings, and give the whole that *preciſe direction* which is moſt advantageous. A republican government, however, labours under this very great diſadvantage: It

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is almoſt impoſſible to determine what degree of power ought to be veſted in the executive part of the ſtate, ſo that it ſhould be ſufficient to anſwer every purpoſe of government, and how to form ſuch checks as may effectually prevent any abuſe of that power to the danger of the ſtate. Is it too much, liberty is gone; is it too little, anarchy enſues. The very long duration of the republic of Venice would induce one to conclude, that thoſe wiſe republicans had reſolved this very difficult problem.

The extreme difficulty of *collecting*, *uniting*, and *directing* the national forces in a republican government, ſhews that it is by no means calculated for war, and much leſs for an offenſive one. Its principles being founded in equality, it is evident that war of every kind ought to be avoided, becauſe it neceſſarily throws too much power into the hands of one or few men, which finally deſtroys the government. It is alſo from the want of unity and ſufficient force to exert the powers of the ſtate that all confederacies, however formidable, have failed in their ſchemes, if

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the war has been of any duration. The famous league of Cambray, the leagues formed againſt France at different times, and againſt Auſtria; that againſt Pruſſia in the laſt war, and a hundred more, were diſſolved without producing any effect proportioned to their forces.

Republics, unleſs formed upon military principles, as was that of the Romans, are totally unfit for action. Nothing could unite the Greek republics againſt Perſia, till the time of Alexander the Great, when they had nearly loſt their liberty; but, when attacked, what prodigious efforts did they not make for the common cauſe? It is certainly true, that republics, unleſs forced by the immediate ſenſe of danger, never have that unanimity and vigour neceſſary to carry on a war with any probability of ſucceſs, and therefore are proper only for a defenſive war. There, indeed, their efforts increaſe in proportion to the danger with which they are threatened; and if the motives ariſe from civil or religious principles, they generally become invincible. When ſuch motives diſappear, and the ſenſe of

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of danger vaniſhes, each party purſues its own intereſt, and the confederacy is diſſolved.

I am ſo convinced of the truth of this reaſoning, that I have not the leaſt doubt, if we could hold New-York, Long Iſland, Rhode Iſland, and Philadelphia, and ceaſe to make thoſe fruitleſs and unmeaning excurſions in the American woods, that the Congreſs and the rebel people, no longer united by the ſenſe of fear, would ſoon diſſolve their confederacy, and a more favourable opportunity would offer of reſtoring peace and union between them and the mother country. The troops employed on the American continent might enable us to ſtrike ſome capital ſtroke in the Weſt Indies, which would conſtrain our enemies to bring a great part of their forces to that country; for in the Weſt Indies is their weak part, and there they may be attacked with advantage.

CHAP.

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CHAP. IV.

Of the INVASION *expected.*

WHILE the terrors of an invaſion and its conſequences hang over our heads, it is the duty of every man to contribute, with his perſon and advice, to the ſupport of the ſtate, and point out the means which appear proper to defeat the deſigns of our enemies. With this view I have wrote the following diſcourſe on the ſuppoſed invaſion, and hope it may ſerve, in ſome meaſure, to render it fruitleſs, and inſpire government, as well as the nation in general, with that confidence which the ſituation of our affairs require. Without confidence, his Majeſty cannot avail himſelf, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, of the national forces.

The enemies, ſuperior at ſea, and moreover, having a land force ſufficient for any pur-

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purpoſe, may have three objects in view. The firſt and moſt capital would be to land a powerful army in England. If ſucceſs ſhould follow their operations, it is evident, we muſt conclude a peace on any terms, and the war is ſoon brought to an end. This enterprize is deciſive, and therefore preferable to any other.

Their next object might be to take poſſeſſion of the weſtern provinces, and to maintain themſelves there for a few months only, without making any farther progreſs into the country; then our commerce would be totally intercepted, and our whole attention confined to the immediate defence of the ſtate; ſo that our foreign ſettlements would, in a ſhort time, fall of courſe into their hands. Such an expedition is very bold, but it is equally dangerous, and it might prove fatal to their army. It is poſſible, therefore, that their ſhew and parade ſhould be intended only to keep us at home, and ruin our trade, while, with the reſt of their forces, they attack our colonies, Gibraltar, Minorca, &c.

Finally,

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Finally, to increaſe our diſtreſs, the combined enemies may land fifteen or twenty thouſand men in the bay of Galway, and cover themſelves with the Shannon. The inhabitants of Connaught, equally poor and ignorant, might be induced to join them, and it would not be an eaſy matter to drive their army out of that country, if their fleet could ſupport their army with proviſions. Such a ſcheme offers all the advantages of *the* former, without being ſubject to the ſame difficulties as *the* ſecond; the ſeaſon being now far advanced, it is probable they may not think it eligible to attempt an invaſion in England for the preſent, and next year we ſhall be much better prepared to receive them. Perhaps they may then find it too dangerous an undertaking, and without adopting any of the two firſt plans we have ſuppoſed, they will attempt to land in Ireland, or only ſhew themſelves in the Channel. However, as an invaſion of England, with a powerful army, may be attended with fatal conſequences, I ſhall confine my obſervations to that alone, and endeavour to ſhew how it may be fruſtrated.

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The appearance and force of the combined fleet, prove the intention of bringing affairs to a ſpeedy concluſion, and had they met with us, and fought with ſucceſs, I have not the leaſt doubt, they would have invaded this kingdom with a formidable number of troops. Every thing was then, and is now, prepared for that purpoſe: when I conſider their immenſe ſuperiority, and foreſee the probable event of a battle, I cannot help applauding thoſe councils which tended to avoid it, as well as the prudence with which they were followed. Time and delays, at this moment, and at this ſeaſon of the year, are a victory. Had we beat the combined fleet, little more would have been attained, whereas the loſs of a battle might have been fatal.

While our fleet is entire, though we may, for a time, be forced out of the ſea, yet am I perſuaded that no invaſion can take place. It is always a dangerous enterprize, and not to be attempted while there remains a poſſibility of our appearing at ſea; which may happen from a thouſand circumſtances ariſing from wind and weather, in the winter eſpecially,

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cially, when the combined fleet muſt ſeparate, and all communication with the army they may have landed muſt be cut off. Our fleet, in the mean time, may intercept their convoys, and block up the harbour when they have eſtabliſhed their *dépôts*; ſo that in a ſhort time their troops muſt periſh. It is not enough that they debark an army, it muſt be continually ſupplied and protected from France, otherwiſe, however numerous, it cannot make any progreſs or penetrate into the country.

If contrary to our hopes and expectations, the Britiſh fleet is beat and drove into ſome harbour, and the enemy does land a powerful army, we muſt not deſpond, nor by groundleſs fears facilitate the ſucceſs of the invaders; a juſt and entire confidence in government is neceſſary to our preſervation, and the common danger ſhould produce an union of all parties in the defence of their country. It is needleſs to trace the cauſes which have brought our affairs to this criſis; ſuch a taſk would only tend to ſow diviſion and diſcontent, when concord and harmony are moſt required. But I would beg leave to recommend to the ſtockholders not to be alarmed,

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ed, and let their fears prevail over their reaſon. If, to ſecure their property, they draw on the bankers, and attempt at once to realiſe their ſecurities, they will infallibly bring ruin and deſtruction on themſelves and families. For though there be a ſufficient ſum to anſwer every purpoſe of trade and circulation, as well as to pay the intereſt allowed on ſuch ſecurities, ſucceſſively as it becomes due, yet is there not in this, nor in any other country, money enough to pay off all the principals, and if it is attempted, a bankruptcy muſt enſue; the monied men are ruined, and the whole nation is thrown into a convulſion, which may prove incurable, particularly if the enemy is in the country. Whereas if they remain quiet, and repoſe a proper confidence in government, we ſhall, no doubt, be able to repel the danger which threatens us. The reſources of this country are numerous, they are great, and when properly exerted, will enable us to overcome our enemies, however formidable, and force them to lay down their arms.

Though the frontier of a country, as is that of England, may be very extenſive, and there-

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therefore ſeems very difficult to be defended; yet upon a due examination, it will be always found, that ſuch a frontier can be attacked only in few points, and that theſe points are fixed and determined by the nature and poſition of the countries at war. An army, like a traveller, muſt neceſſarily depart from a given point, and proceed to a given point, in the enemy's country. The line which unites theſe points, I call *the Line of Operation.* It is manifeſt, that all deviation from this, and all delays in purſuing the march, are ſo much time loſt; and in the end, will force an enemy to return either for want of ſubſiſtence, or by bad weather, &c. To diminiſh the difficulties which oppoſe the progreſs of the main army on the Line of Operation, ſometimes a corps is made to act on another line to create a diverſion; but ſuch a corps can never produce a ſolid advantage, if you attend to the main point, and fruſtrate the deſigns of the principal army.

When the frontiers of the contending powers are contiguous, the magazines formed in the country which attacks may, for ſome time, ſupply the invading army, until by a victory

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victory it is enabled to take ſome capital fortreſs, and ſecure a tract of the enemy's country ſufficient to form a new *dépôt* to ſupport the whole, or a great part of the troops during the winter. If this cannot be executed, it is evident the attacking army muſt, after a fruitleſs campaign, return to its own country. In proportion as an army advances into the enemy's country, new *dépôts* muſt be continually formed, and theſe as near as poſſible; for when they are at any conſiderable diſtance, the convoys arrive ſlow, require ſtrong eſcorts, and are ſo precarious, that the army can neither move nor act, eſpecially if the country is cloſe and the enemy active: let him give his whole attention to attack your communications, and he muſt live day and night on your line of operation. In general, commanders miſtake the principles of a defenſive war, and very abſurdly endeavour to check and ſtop the progreſs of an enemy, by oppoſing him in front in ſome advantageous poſt, which method is, for the moſt part, ineffectual or dangerous. You are often forced to a general action, whoſe conſequences may be fatal, as victory will enable your adverſary to fix himſelf in ſome

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part of the country, from whence, the enſuing campaign, he begins his operations ſooner, and with additional advantages. This cannot be done if you avoid a general action, and employ the greateſt part of your forces on his line of operation, which is the only effectual and ſure means to ſtop his progreſs; let him advance in front, the length of his line will weaken it, and offer your attacks certain and deciſive ſucceſs.

If the frontiers are not contiguous, and be ſeparated by the territories of other princes, by foreſts, deſerts, mountains, and, above all, by the ſea, it is clear, that ſo many difficulties will occur in ſuch an undertaking, as that of an invaſion, that it is almoſt impoſſible it ſhould ſucceed.

An army which acts over a branch of the ſea, muſt occupy ſome convenient and ſafe harbour, gain a great and deciſive battle, or, by ſkilful manœuvres, force the enemy to abandon ſuch a tract of country as will, in a great meaſure, ſupport the aſſailant; for if he depends in the ſmalleſt degree on ſhipping, and a precarious navigation for ſupplies,

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plies, he cannot profecute any ſolid operation, and ſucceſſive campaigns will be conſumed in fruitleſs and unmeaning excurſions; troops muſt, however, return to the ſhore to take up their winter quarters, and at laſt his men and money being exhauſted, he periſhes totally, or abandons the enterprize with loſs and ignominy.

From hence it appears, that an offenſive war muſt be proſecuted with the utmoſt vigour and activity, for nothing elſe than complete victories can render it ſucceſsful. Conſequently a defenſive war muſt be carried on with caution and prudence, and, above all things, a general action is to be avoided. You oppoſe the enemy in front by occupying ſtrong poſts, and with the remainder of your forces you act on his flanks and rear; which in a ſhort time will reduce him, though much ſtronger, to fall back and approach his *dépôts*. If King Harold had followed this doctrine, it is probable, we ſhould have known William the Conqueror by his defeat only.

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Let us now apply the principles eſtabliſhed above to the preſent caſe.

It is evident, that Breſt is the point from whence the French muſt depart, becauſe all their operations, even when they have landed, are connected with and depend upon their fleet. But, as all operations which depend on navigation are, from its nature, precarious, and liable to a thouſand difficulties, they muſt have likewiſe a place of arms in this country, a ſpacious harbour, as near their own coaſt as poſſible, &c. and beſides theſe advantages, abſolutely required, the place muſt be ſo ſituated, that by marching a few miles inland, they can occupy ſuch a poſt as will render them maſters of a tract of country behind their army, ſufficient to ſupply it with ſubſiſtence on their ſtops; without which no progreſs can be made, nor can they remain for any conſiderable time in any part of the country. The plan which offers theſe advantages is the moſt eligible of any they can fix upon.

Plymouth anſwers perfectly this deſcription. It is a ſafe and convenient harbour, near the coaſt

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coaſt of France; and by marching only to Chudleigh, the invaders will be maſters of Cornwall, Devonſhire, and part of Somerſetſhire, where they can find proviſions in abundance; which will enable them to proſecute their operations and penetrate farther into the country, or, if they chuſe to remain there, it would be a difficult matter to drive them back, as they would have a fleet at Plymouth; and our trade being once deſtroyed, we muſt conclude a peace on the terms they chuſe to impoſe upon us. I am happy to find, that ſuch meaſures have been taken by Government, for the defence of that very important place, as leave us no room to fear for it.

When a *coup de main* only is intended, you muſt debark as near the object you have in view as poſſible, becauſe the ſucceſs depends on ſecreſy and ſurprize; but when you propoſe to wage war in a country, you are to land your troops at a diſtance, that you may have time to bring your ſtores on ſhore, fortify a camp, take ſome capital poſition, and then proceed gradually towards the point you have in view. General O'Reilly, in his ex-

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pedition againſt Algiers, adopted another mode, and failed in the enterprize; he loſt great part of his army, and his reputation as an officer.

Next to Plymouth, the only place which can ſerve the purpoſe of the enemy, is Portſmouth; it has two fine roads, St. Helen and Spithead, and a very ſafe harbour; the town and the dock on the land ſide are fortified, and cannot be taken without a regular ſiege, the undertaking of which is very difficult, though we had no ſhips to defend it. The iſland of Portſea lies very low, and does not furniſh the neceſſary materials to carry on the works required on ſuch occaſions. The enemy muſt occupy Goſport with part of his army, while the remainder carries on the ſiege; and if we are maſters of Ports Down, and can confine him to the iſland, we are always able to ſuccour the place, and force him to retire, which he would find no eaſy matter. The lines of Goſport are of no uſe, and thoſe towards Ports Down are againſt us, if the invader is in the iſland, being calculated only to ſtop an enemy coming from Portſdown, which I preſume he will never be permitted

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mitted to occupy. The lines of Goſport are equally imperfect; a good fort ſhould be raiſed on a riſing ground, a few hundred yards off, which would render it impoſſible for the enemy to attempt any thing on that ſide. In caſe he ſhould ever land on the iſland of Portſea, a few redoubts muſt alſo be added before the front of the works which cover the dock, to prevent his approaching near enough to throw ſhells into the dock, which he might now do, as thoſe works are not advanced far enough into the country; an unreaſonable reſpect for private property having occaſioned their being kept too far back.

When I conſidered at firſt the poſition of the Iſle of Wight, I thought that an enemy might occupy it, and with fifteen or twenty thouſand men keep poſſeſſion of the whole ground; but having lately examined it with proper attention, I believe now that it is abſolutely impoſſible. This iſland runs from eaſt to weſt, and is generally interſected with very high mountains, whoſe baſis run quite to the ſhore. On the ſouth ſide of the iſland they riſe by ranges, like an amphitheatre,

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almoſt perpendicular, forty or fifty feet high, and the ſummits, excepting in very few places, to above a thouſand; ſo that if any troops are poſted on them, there is no poſſibility of landing; the only place where it is leſs difficult is in Brading Bay, oppoſite St. Helen's Road; this is a ſmall creek between two very high hills, which being occupied will prevent a landing. On the ſouth ſide is a bay, where the ſhore is low, and very proper for debarking troops; but Sandown fort defends that bay very well. From thence to the weſternmoſt point and the Needles, no place is found where a landing can be attempted, if there is the leaſt oppoſition; beſides, the coaſt is ſo open and dangerous, that a boat, much leſs a fleet, cannot lay at anchor an hour without the utmoſt riſk of periſhing. From the Needles to Ride you may land any where, and a fleet may anchor in ſafety, there being a ſufficient depth of water for men of war to come through the Needles, and all the way up to Spithead. The channel between the Needles and Hurſt Caſtle is narrow, but it is ſafe for the largeſt veſſels. The Caſtle does not ſeem ſufficiently ſtrong againſt ſhips of

of force; but if two conſiderable batteries were erected on the two points which project into the ſea oppoſite the fortreſs, I believe that paſs would be perfectly ſecured.

Though the difficulties which occur in landing on the ſouth ſide of the Iſle of Wight, and indeed of approaching it, ſeem inſurmountable, yet if no oppoſition is made, it might be effected; however, if we conſider the extent of the iſland, the great number of very high mountains, and of places to land from our ſide, it will appear that twenty thouſand men would not be able to occupy it in ſuch a manner as to prevent our taking it from them. They muſt fortify all the ſhore oppoſite the New Foreſt, as well as all the downs or mountains behind them; for there is no one ſpot on the whole iſland where the moſt extenſive fortreſs could, in any degree, ſecure the poſſeſſion of it to the French. If it is placed on the South ſhore, there is neither bay nor harbour; and by our occupying ſome neighbouring mountains the garriſon would be ſtarved in it. The ſame difficulty will occur, if placed in the center, or on the northern ſhore, as Cowes, Yar-

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Yarmouth, &c. from whence I conclude, that, while England exiſts as a nation, an enemy cannot keep the Iſle of Wight a month, though there were thirty thouſand men in it.

From Portſmouth to Harwich there is no harbour or road which can, in any degree, anſwer the purpoſes of an enemy who intends to land a conſiderable army, and make war in the country. The difficulty, though very great, does not conſiſt in debarking forty thouſand men; it is alſo neceſſary, as I have already demonſtrated, that they ſhould have a commodious and ſafe harbour, a place of arms, and be ſo ſituated as to keep a ſure and eaſy communication with France, eſpecially with Breſt. Such a place is not to be found on the whole coaſt, except Plymouth and Portſmouth, of which enough has been ſaid already. The Dutch fleet, they ſay, came up the river very well; but how long did they remain there? A few hours only. Conſider, beſides the great difference there is between coming from the coaſt of Holland with twenty men of war to make a ridiculous bravado, which laſted twenty-four hours, or coming

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coming from Breſt with a fleet and four or five hundred tranſports to invade us, and carry on a war into the heart of our country. The one is eaſy, the other impracticable.

Though I am convinced ſuch an attempt neither will, nor can be made, in Suſſex, Kent, or higher up: I don't think it impoſſible, that, in order to facilitate the operations of their main army, the enemies may threaten different and diſtant parts of the coaſt; but no ſolid operation can, in my opinion, be executed but in the Weſt.

Upon this ſuppoſition, it appears that our troops are too much ſcattered, and cannot be brought together without a great loſs of time, wherever the enemy may land.

Whenever a tract of country is to be defended, reaſon points out the neceſſity of occupying ſome central poſitions, with ſtrong corps to the right and left, to ſtop the enemy till the whole can be collected. *The line we have to defend extends from* PLYMOUTH *to* DOVER. PORTS DOWN is the central point on that line. I would therefore recommend, that

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that a third part of our army be placed there, another third on HALL DOWN, or *Haldon Hill*, beyond Exeter, and the remainder on THE LIMITS BETWEEN SUSSEX and KENT. If an attempt is made to the weſtward, the body encamped at Portſmouth will march thither, and join that on Hall Down, which I ſuppoſe inſtantly on motion where the invaſion is attempted. The body placed in Suſſex may remain there, and by a movement to the right or left, be any where, as occaſion may require, and eaſily repulſe every attempt made on that coaſt.

Should the enemy land at Plymouth, which I think moſt probable, for the reaſons already aſſigned, the regiments now there will be able to diſpute the ground until thoſe on Hall Down can come to their aſſiſtance; and it does not require twenty-four hours march. Oppoſed in front by the corps at Plymouth, which is covered by the works now raiſing there, as well as by the natural ſtrength of the country, and attacked in the rear by the troops coming from Hall Down, an enemy, though far ſuperior in number, would find himſelf greatly embarraſſed. Surrounded by the

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the ſea, by ſtrong forts, and a ſtronger country, occupied by fifteen or twenty thouſand men, without ground ſufficiently extenſive to form a line, I don't conceive it poſſible how he could avoid a total overthrow. There is not a ſpot about Plymouth, if properly occupied, and protected by the moſt inconſiderable work, but will require a ſiege to force you, which cannot be undertaken while you have any body of troops in the neighbourhood.

The ſame difficulties, and much greater, will occur to an enemy in the iſland of Portſea; he can neither ſubſiſt there, nor from the adjacent country, if we have a camp on Ports Down, and another in the NEW FOREST.

From what we have ſaid, it ſeems evident that no invaſion can take place until our fleet, entirely drove out of the ſea, is forced to hide itſelf for a conſiderable time in ſome harbour; and that ſuch an invaſion cannot be proſecuted with any probability of ſucceſs, unleſs the enemy is maſter of Plymouth or Portſmouth. Let us now proceed to examine what

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what may be the conſequences in caſe ſuch an event ſhould happen.

Suppoſing the enemy is in poſſeſſion of Plymouth, he cannot remain there for ever; he will, in a ſhort time, be forced to penetrate farther into the country, in order to procure ſupplies of proviſions, or abandon his poſt for want of them. To remain there with any ſafety, he muſt occupy and fortify Mount Edgecombe, and the ground behind the King's brewhouſe, as well as all the ground between the Tamar and that branch of the ſea which runs under Mr. Parker's garden to the bridge at the three mile ſtone coming to London; he ſhould, moreover, have a body of troops in Mr. Parker's ground. Forty or fifty thouſand men would not be ſufficient for the purpoſe, becauſe theſe, being ſeparated by the ſea and the Tamar, could not, in caſe of an attack, ſupport each other; and if one only of them is defeated, the others muſt fall ſucceſſively, and in a very ſhort time. The greateſt part of the invaders army will naturally be poſted between the Tamar and the ſea, by the bridge above mentioned,

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which puts the Dock, Storehouſe, and Plymouth behind them; this diſtance is near five miles, and requires twenty thouſand men to defend it, which they cannot eaſily do, for the ground riſes gradually from the ſhore to Dartmoor, ſo that you have every poſſible advantage in attacking their poſts. The moſt ſure method, however, would be to attack the corps placed at Mount Edgecombe, which, being beat, the others muſt of courſe be deſtroyed. Mount Edgecombe is the key of Plymouth, and muſt be kept with care.

Though the enemies are in poſſeſſion of all the different poſts above mentioned, and have thereby a place of arms, and a fine harbour for their fleet, with which, for a time, they may put an entire ſtop to all our trade and navigation, yet it can only be for a time. The combined fleet cannot always remain there, and the army, conſiſting of fifty or ſixty thouſand men, cooped up in ſuch narrow limits, cannot ſubſiſt by the ſupplies brought from France. They muſt therefore advance into the country, or abandon it. The only deciſive operation they could execute would be, to leave ten thouſand men at Plymouth,

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mouth, and with the remainder proceed directly to Hall Down, between Chudleigh and Exeter, which is about thirty-ſix miles from Plymouth. This poſition is very ſtrong, whether it is taken with the front towards Exeter, or towards Plymouth. There is no paſſing between the enemy's right and the ſea; and, by an eaſy movement on the left, he is in the mountains, through which all the weſtern roads muſt paſs towards Cornwall. By taking this poſition, the enemy would be maſter of Devonſhire, Cornwall, and part of Somerſetſhire, which would furniſh ſubſiſtence in abundance, and having Teignmouth and Dartmouth very near, he would alſo receive from France whatever he wanted. Poſſeſſed of theſe advantages, and having a very ſtrong country, eaſily to be defended, it would become difficult to drive him back; and while his fleet, deſtroying our trade, rode triumphant at ſea, we ſhould be reduced to accept of any peace he chuſes to dictate. It is therefore incumbent upon us to poſt ourſelves ſo, that we may be near enough to prevent an invading army from penetrating into the country, if we cannot hinder it from taking Plymouth. The means and method of doing

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doing this depending chiefly on the nature of the country, I ſhall therefore give a deſcription of it, ſo far as it relates to military opetations.

All countries are either *open* or *cloſe*. By an open country, I mean that where an army, or a conſiderable body of troops, can almoſt any where find ſufficient room to form in, and to act; conſequently by a cloſe country I mean that where an army in the courſe of many miles cannot find room to form and act in. By the word *defilé*, I mean a narrow paſs, formed by mountains, hills, foreſts, rivers, moraſſes, hedges, &c. where the road is ſo contracted, that few men only can advance in front. In the firſt ſpecies of country, it is evident that ſuperior numbers muſt prevail, if the troops are equal in goodneſs, and the commander knows how to avail himſelf of that ſuperiority; for this plain reaſon, that he can bring a greater number of men into action at any given time, and at any given point, than his adverſary: whereas in a cloſe country, number is nothing, and diſpoſition is every thing. In ſuch a country,

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points only can be attacked, and by a given number of men only. So that if you occupy theſe points, though otherwiſe much inferior to the enemy, you may bring more men into action than he, and conſequently prevail; beſides, theſe points may be ſuch as to enable you to attack him in front, flank, and rear at the ſame time.

England, in general, is of this laſt kind; the weſtern country is not only very hilly, but alſo, for the moſt part, full of inclo-ſures. As you come from Exeter towards London, it is ſo incloſed with hedges and ditches, that for many miles together you do not find ground ſufficiently open to form twenty battalions upon; ſo that the high road, where an army can alone march, is one continued paſs, or defile, winding at the foot of the mountains, or through the incloſures. Thoſe mountains and hedges being properly occupied, an enemy cannot advance a ſtep, and if he is once engaged in them, he can never extricate himſelf out of the narrow labyrinth, and will be forced to lay down his arms.

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There are two roads which may be called military roads from Plymouth to Exeter; the one paſſes by Ivey Bridge, Chudleigh, and Aſhburton; the other by Ivey Bridge, Totneſs, Newton Buſhell, and over Hall Down, to Exeter. On the firſt road there are but two places, viz. Hall Down, four miles beyond Exeter, and a heath two miles beyond Chudleigh, where any conſiderable body of men can form upon. The remainder of the road is one continued defile, interſected by mountains, ravins, hedges, and numberleſs rivulets, beſides the Teign and the Dart, which come from Dartmoor and fall into the ſea; though theſe are not very deep, yet being near the mountains, they are very rapid, and when the rain falls, become very dangerous torrents; their beds are full of large ſtones, and the banks high, ſo that you can get over them only at the bridges, where the high road paſſes. The whole country between this road and the ſea coaſt, from Exmouth to Plymouth, is exactly the ſame, ſo that an army can march but in one column. If to avoid the difficulties which ariſe from ſuch a diſpoſition, the enemy ſhould ſeparate his forces, and advance in two columns,

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along the two roads above mentioned, there being no communication by means of croſs roads, you may attack either, or both columns ſeparately, for they cannot ſupport each other till they come to Hall Down; nor in all that tract of country is there a ſingle ſpot where you may not attack the enemy in front, flank, and rear, ſince the road is continually winding round the foot of the hills.

Between the Teign and the Dart the ground is rather more hilly, and more eaſily defended. There is but one narrow road, which goes from Dartmouth to Newton Buſhell, near which the tide flows. A few miles from Dartmouth a branch turns off to Totneſs, and ſeveral paths from the towns on the coaſt, as Torbay, Paynton, &c. come into the main road. However, a body of men landing between Dartmouth and Teignmouth, muſt finally paſs through Newton Buſhell in their way to Exeter, or through Totneſs going to Plymouth. There goes likewiſe from Dartmouth to Plymouth a road over the mountains by Modbury. All theſe roads are equally difficult, inſomuch that no wheel-carriages are uſed by the farmers, who carry in their harveſt

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harveſt on horſes. The only proper place between Plymouth and Exmouth where ſhips can approach, are Dartmouth and Teignmouth; but as the entrance is very narrow, and entirely commanded by the mountains, a few battalions would eaſily prevent a landing.

From Teignmouth, towards Exeter, there runs a very high mountain, called Hall Down, or Haldon Hill, already mentioned. The top is a fine plain, where a numerous army might camp and act. All the roads, as I have ſaid, to and from the Weſt, paſs over it; but an army can come upon it only by the two roads, leading from Newton Buſhell and Exmouth, both very difficult. On the ſouth ſide, towards the Teign and Newton Buſhell, the hill is rapid. On the weſt ſide it falls gradually, and forms many ſmall hills, like an amphitheatre; at the bottom is a wide valley, very much incloſed, on the other ſide of which are high mountains, which riſe continually, as you advance weſtward. On the eaſt ſide of Hall Down, towards the ſea, are numberleſs hills, whoſe baſis form very deep ravins; theſe hills project quite into the ſea,

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which does not admit of any convenient place for landing troops, and is moreover ſo ſhallow, that no ſhips of burthen can approach the ſhore. Upon the whole, the country from Exeter to Plymouth is ſo extremely cloſe and difficult, that a few men, properly diſpoſed, will ſtop and ruin a numerous army.

From Exeter, where moſt of the weſtern roads join, there are but two roads towards Saliſbury which may be practicable for an army; to Axminſter there is only one. At this place begin the two, one to the left through Yeovil, Sherborne, Shaftſbury, and over the Downs; the other to the right, by Bridport, Dorcheſter, and Blandford to Saliſbury. The firſt road as far as Shafteſbury is interſected by numberleſs hills and vallies, extremely cloſe and cultivated, ſo that an army can march only in one column. There is ſcarce a ſpot where you cannot occupy ſome poſt acroſs the road to prevent an enemy from advancing, while the hedges on both ſides, lined with your infantry, would ſo embarraſs him, that he could neither advance or retire, or indeed make any defence on the ground for want of room to form a line.

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line. From Shaftſbury to Saliſbury the road paſſes over a narrow down, having on one ſide a high ridge of mountains, which runs towards Blandford and Cranbourn Chace, and on the other a deep and wide valley very cloſe. This down is alſo cut by a great number of ravins, ſo that very often there is not room to form a ſingle battalion. If the ridge of mountains, and the valley are occupied, no army can proceed on the high road; nor can it be ſeparated into ſeveral columns, without expoſing them to be beat in detail, as from the nature of the ground they cannot ſupport each other. The road which goes by Bridport is extremely difficult till you are about two miles beyond that place, then the country, opening as far as Saliſbury, becomes leſs incloſed, and offers every where ground ſufficient to form a numerous army upon, and very proper for a general action, if you are ſuperior in cavalry.

From Saliſbury two roads go towards London; the firſt by Andover, Baſingſtoke, Bagſhot, Egham, &c. Near the ſeven mile ſtone a branch goes by Stockbridge over ſome very high hills, and joins it at Baſing-

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ſtoke: this branch paſſes through an open country, which, however, being very high, offers many excellent camps. The firſt is alſo carried for ſome miles through an open country; but about Andover, and from thence to Baſingſtoke and Hartford Bridge, it is very cloſe; the other road goes by Rumſey, Farnham, &c. through a country which is ſtill more cloſe than the former, and in proportion affords greater advantages in attacking the enemy.

It is needleſs to proſecute this deſcription any farther, becauſe I am perſuaded that no army, however numerous, will ever be able to penetrate forty miles into the country, if proper methods are taken to oppoſe it, and if we know how to avail ourſelves of the numberleſs reſources which may be drawn from the face of the country. And I have no doubt, from the known experience, firmneſs, and abilities of the commander in chief, but that the event, ſhould an invaſion take place, will juſtify the high truſt that his Majeſty has placed in him, and fully anſwer the expectations of the public.

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The deſcription I have given is exceedingly imperfect, as no map, plan, or drawing, can convey a true military and adequate idea of any country. The eye alone, and a good one, accuſtomed to view ground on a grand ſcale, very different from that of a parade, can do it effectually. I think, however, that what I have ſaid, if read with attention, will ſhew the lines on which the enemy can act, as well as the advantages or diſadvantages of the country through which ſuch lines muſt neceſſarily paſs. The commander in chief, and his officers, upon examining the ground, will eaſily fix the particular points where to act, while theſe points, and the motions of the enemy, will ſhew *how* to act, as circumſtances may require.

CHAP.

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CHAP. V.

Obſervations on the Method of ranging the Troops, and of making War, &c.

THE French army has, no doubt, ſome advantages over our's: it is compoſed of old corps which have been accuſtomed to exerciſe and diſcipline for many years: the officers of the higher ranks have ſeen ſervice, and many of them have commanded ſeparate corps during the laſt war. The habit of being united for a long time together gives them a facility in manœuvring, a conſiſtency and an adherence of parts, if I may ſo call it, not ſo eaſily broke as in new levies; all which muſt enſure them a great ſuperiority in a plain and open country, and in a general action. In a cloſe country, where the combat is partial, and confined to particular poſts, valour and a good diſpoſition will ſupply, in a great meaſure, the defects inherent to new corps.

Though,

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Though, in point of diſcipline, our enemies enjoy ſome advantages over us, we poſſeſs ſo many over them in every other reſpect, that, if we avail ourſelves of them, there can be no room left to fear the event.

1ſt, The face of the country forces them to march in one column; and this difficulty alone overbalances almoſt every other advantage.

2dly, They have but little cavalry, which, from the nature of the country may not, if we chuſe it, ever have an opportunity of acting.

3dly, They can have no heavy artillery, and not many field pieces, compared to what we can bring into the field.

4thly, They can have no other proviſions but what they bring with them, which, however abundant it may ſeem, will laſt only for a very ſhort time.

5thly, They can never have a ſufficient number of horſes and carriages to tranſport their ſtores, artillery, baggage, proviſions, &c.

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&c. which will retard their march, ſo that they cannot advance above a mile or two a day.

6thly, When they proceed from the ſhore, they can form no magazines in the country, and muſt be ſupplied from their original *dépôt*; and when their line of communication is protracted to a certain length, half their army will not be ſufficient to eſcort their convoys, which you may, and muſt intercept. This will not only retard their progreſs, but very ſoon ſtop them entirely, and force their army to go back. They have but this alternative, to gain a great and deciſive victory, or abandon the enterpriſe. They cannot remain on the ſpot, in a cloſe country, ſurrounded by mountains on every ſide, and thoſe occupied by our troops: and we have nothing to do but to profit of theſe advantages, and avoid a general action.

7thly, They cannot ſend detachments, or deviate from the great road, without being expoſed to certain deſtruction, whereas we, availing ourſelves of every croſs road and path, can, without riſk, attack their whole line

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line of march, and ſoon throw it into confuſion. They can act on that line only, whereas we can act where, and when we pleaſe.

To theſe natural advantages we may, I think, procure others from a different manner of ranging the troops, and of carrying on the war.

The preſent mode of ranging the infantry three men deep, armed with muſkets only, is ſubject to many and very great defects.

Firſt, The line becomes too extenſive, and is therefore weak; it cannot advance in any ground, particularly in a cloſe one, without the greateſt difficulties and delays, contrary to the very principle of military operations, which ſhould be as quick as lightning.

Secondly, It is inadequate to almoſt every purpoſe of war, as well againſt infantry as cavalry, and proper only for fighting at a diſtance. If you approach the enemy, the line is too weak, the arms too ſhort for a ſhock, and veteran troops will have a deciſive ſuperiority. Placed behind entrenchments, hedges,

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ditches, &c. which naturally offer great advantages, you can make no reſiſtance from the moment the enemy attacks them, ſo that unleſs you keep him off by your fire, he penetrates ſomewhere, and you muſt abandon the whole, or be taken in flank, and cut to pieces.

To remedy theſe defects, I humbly propoſe, that the infantry be ranged four deep, and that the fourth rank be armed with a pike eleven or twelve feet long, two feet of which muſt be made of ſteel, two inches broad, to cut on each ſide, without any hatchet, or croſs bar, that it may eaſily paſs through the hedges. This fourth rank muſt be compoſed of the talleſt and ſtrongeſt men.

This formation will render the line leſs extenſive, ſtronger, and much more active, is proper for every operation, and particularly adapted to our country, every where incloſed with hedges and ditches. In a plain, no infantry formed in the uſual manner can reſiſt its ſhock an inſtant, or even approach your line, much leſs if this is placed behind an entrenchment, or hedge. Moreover, if you form

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form a battalion or two into ſquares, protected by ſome howitzers on the flank, no cavalry, however brave, can overturn them. The three firſt ranks protected by a row of pikes, which project before them at leaſt five feet, will feel the advantage, and ſoon find their ſuperiority in whatever ground they are attacked, as well as in attacking the enemy. Let an experiment be made, the event will ſhew the ſuperiority of the method I propoſe over that now in practice. It is a novelty; very true; and this novelty will not a little diſconcert the enemy.

CHAP.

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CHAP. VI.

Of the Order of Battle.

THE order of battle now adopted in Europe is in many reſpects defective and abſurd. The infantry and cavalry formed three deep make the line ſo very extenſive, that it loſes all its activity, which is the ſoul of military manœuvres, and alone can inſure ſucceſs; inſomuch that it may be eſtabliſhed as an axiom, that the army which moves and marches with the greateſt velocity, muſt, from that circumſtance alone, finally prevail. Our military inſtitutions exclude every idea of celerity; hence it is that our victories are never complete and deciſive, and that our attacks are reduced to ſome particular points, which gained or loſt, the battle is over; the enemy retires generally in good order, becauſe, from the extent and ſlowneſs of our motions, we cannot purſue him with any vigour; he occupies ſome neighbouring hill,

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and we have to begin again. Moreover, the poſition of the cavalry in a line on the flanks of the infantry, is ſuch, that it retards the motions of the whole, becauſe none can advance unleſs the whole line does; beſides it cannot, from its ſituation there, ſupport the infantry, or be ſupported by it; the moment is loſt before you can bring the cavalry where it is wanted. The reaſon aſſigned for placing the cavalry on the flanks is abſurd, viz. to cover the flanks of the infantry.—Pray, is not the flank of the cavalry much weaker than that of the infantry? ſince it cannot, in any manner, form a flank to protect itſelf, much leſs will it protect the flank of the infantry. Three or four battalions, armed with pikes, and formed into oblong ſquares, are the only flank which can effectually cover the line againſt infantry or cavalry, and they muſt have beſides field-pieces, ten or twelve twelve-pounders, and a few howitzers.

Cavalry muſt never appear but in the moment it is brought to action, action being the very eſſence of the cavalry. When the ground,

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or other circumſtances, do not permit you to bring it to action, it muſt be kept back behind the infantry, whoſe flanks, ſecured as I propoſe, have nothing to fear. If you think your line too weak, though it is much ſtronger than any other formed in the uſual way, let every third or fourth battalion in the line be formed into ſquares, as thoſe in the flanks, and be aſſured nothing can reſiſt their efforts, much leſs overturn and break the line.

In the manner our line is now formed, not a third of the army is engaged, and that ſucceſſively, ſo that numbers are of no uſe, and only ſerve to retard its motions, and increaſe the expence. To remedy theſe defects I would humbly propoſe, that all the infantry be formed in ſuch a manner, that between each battalion, or regiment, an interval of one hundred and fifty yards be left; behind theſe intervals I would have the cavalry placed in two lines at a proper diſtance, each ſquadron ſeparately, with intervals to manœuvre upon.

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The firſt advantage reſulting from this diſpoſition is, that you may extend your line to any length, without any danger. The ſecond, that you bring the whole into action at once; and though the enemy be double the number, you may out-flank him; and are in reality ſtronger than him, for you attack his whole froſt with ſuperior forces. The third, that the motions of the whole line are more rapid, as each regiment or battalion moves and acts by itſelf; and though ſome may be more advanced than others, no inconvenience can ariſe from it, becauſe if the enemy is imprudent enough to break his line to attack ſuch advanced battalion, upon the right and left, he will find thoſe formed into ſquares to take him on both flanks; and if he advances a certain length out of his line, you order your battalion to ſtop, or even retire *à la débandade*, and in that inſtant you order ſome of your ſquadrons to move forwards through the intervals, full gallop, and charge pell-mell, as one horſeman acting in this manner has more real activity than ſeventy who advance and attack in a line as uſual. I ſaw once three hundred horſe attack a column of

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ſeven or eight thouſand foot in this way, which they defeated and diſperſed in three or four minutes. The fourth advantage is, that if your line is broke in ſome places, the enemy cannot avail himſelf of the diſorder, becauſe your cavalry advances, and gives the infantry time to recover. The fifth, that if your infantry breaks that of the enemy in any point, then advance your firſt line of cavalry to attack and diſperſe it, the whole moving forwards rapidly at the ſame time, which will infallibly produce a general ſlaughter, and your victory is complete and deciſive.

The laſt advantage of this order of battle, which I ſhall mention, is, that it is *general*, and equally adapted to every ſpecies of country, when an army can act in the leaſt. In an open country you combine the action of cavalry with that of the infantry and heavy artillery. In a cloſe country, where an extenſive line cannot be formed, the original formation of the troops enables you to act ſeparately, as the ground may require, by corps, detachments, brigades, or regiments,

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ments, and that always with ſuperior vigour and activity. It is peculiarly adapted to our country; I hope, therefore, it will be received and applied on the preſent occaſion.

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CHAP. VII.

Of the general Method of making War.

OUR armies, however numerous, are united in one body formed in two or three lines. Between this army and that of the enemy, at a certain diſtance, the light troops, very often amounting to twenty thouſand men, form another army, which is called a chain, to obſerve the enemy, prevent his coming upon you unawares, and cover the march of the grand army. Sometimes alſo detachments of them are ſent to eſcort your convoys, or to cover a certain diſtrict, while the army acts on another line. Theſe light troops, though very numerous, they conſider only as mere ſcouts to obſerve the enemy, inſomuch, that on a day of battle they are not to be found, and ſeldom or ever take part in the action. Whether you advance to the enemy, or the enemy comes to you, the light troops diſperſe to the right and

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and left, and you hear no more of them till the next day. Why, on ſuch occaſions, they do not form to the right and left of the army, at a convenient diſtance, and attack the enemy on the flanks, is to me as inconceivable, as the uſe now made of them appears ridiculous and abſurd. Four or five hundred men, including one hundred huſſars, diſtributed into ſmall parties in the woods, behind the hedges, near the high roads, would obſerve the enemy much better than ten thouſand men. The motions of ſuch a body as that of an army of light troops, are too ſlow, and always before the eyes of the enemy, ſo that he can mark them, and make ſome capital manœuvres without your knowledge; whereas a chain of ſmall parties going every where, unite or diſperſe in a moment, and are always inviſible, ſo that it is impoſſible for the enemy to make any kind of movement without your having timely notice.

The great defect of the preſent method of acting is, that however numerous your army may be, if it is formed in one body, your motions are extremely ſlow. Secondly, the enemy may direct his march ſo that he out-

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flanks you. Thirdly, you must have a great body of troops between you and him to watch his motions. Fourthly and finally, by marching against him in a line whose direction is perpendicular to his front, you cannot outflank him. To remedy these very capital defects, I would beg leave to propose another mode of distributing the troops of which our army is composed.

In order to explain what I have to say on this subject, I must premise, First, that a man or body of men, as an army, can defend themselves only in front; consequently, if you can attack them on either, or both flanks, you will easily beat them, and much more so, if you come upon them in the rear. Hence it is that nature points out the danger, and raises that *panic* with which an army is seized when the men apprehend that they are attacked in the rear; conscious of their weakness, they generally fly in confusion. Sometimes the face of the country obliges an enemy to contract his front, as when he comes upon you in columns: then the moment is favourable to attack him, before he has time to form his line. Sometimes, by your throwing

up

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up ſome redoubts * before your front, he is obliged to break his line, and to advance in columns; this, likewiſe, is an occaſion to attack him with advantage: both are, however, too generally neglected. Men, for the moſt part, fix on a given ſpot to fight, which they will not quit, though the enemy in his progreſs gives many opportunities to a ſucceſsful attack; they make their arrangements on paper, and, by the ſlowneſs of their movements, abide by them, being utterly unable to form and execute new diſpoſitions, as circumſtances may require.

Beſides the circumſtances juſt mentioned, which *force an enemy* to contract his front, there is a method of extending your's, ſo that you may always out-flank him, though he be much ſuperior in number. If you can *form on a portion of a circle*, whoſe branches project beyond his flanks, and the enemy perſiſts in advancing within that cir-

* I muſt obſerve here, that a body of men will raiſe a ſufficient number of redoubts to cover themſelves in eight hours; and that they will complete the works in ſix, if they are provided with faſcines or faggots.

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cle, or remains in a line as uſual, while you extend your's in a curve, ſo that you come on either, or both his flanks, it is evident that if you attack him in that diſpoſition, he muſt be beat. I therefore propoſe, that your army be divided always in five parts, three placed in the center, one-fifth on the right, the remaining fifth on the left, and each advanced more or leſs, as the nature of the ground permits. They muſt not be behind the enemy, and liable to be cut off, as happened to the Pruſſians at Maxen, unleſs the whole of your army is oppoſed to the enemy's flank; then, indeed, you may place one or both corps nearly behind him, if the ground is advantageous. They muſt however, wherever poſted, have ſome certain and ſecure retreat, otherwiſe you expoſe them to great riſk, and perhaps to utter ruin and deſtruction.

The advantages ariſing from this diſtribution of the troops are many. Firſt, In whatever ground you act it is equally applicable. Secondly, The motions of the whole army are more ſimple and quicker. Thirdly, The enemy can make no manœuvres without your know-

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knowledge. Fourthly, Whether he advances to the right or left, (for he cannot without expoſing his army to the moſt imminent danger, advance againſt your center) your corps, which he is attacking, may fall back, or be ſupported by the center, while the other attacks the flank oppoſite to it. If the enemy keeps his ground, and waits your attack, then you act againſt both his flanks at the ſame time; or by lengthening your line to the right or left, encloſe his flank, while you attack his front. In ſhort, while you can force him to act within a portion of a circle, the victory is your's. This method, I repeat it, is general, equally proper for all caſes; but more particularly advantageous, and even neceſſary for a defenſive war.

Every army acts upon two lines, that on which it ſtands, and that which is drawn from the poſt it occupies, to the province it means to cover, or the places from whence it draws its ſubſiſtences. An army acting offenſively departs from a given point where its *dépôts* are lodged, and goes to a given point in the enemy's country. It is often, and indeed generally, adviſeable for thoſe on the

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the defenſive to avoid a battle, becauſe the conſequences are, or may be fatal: but it does not follow that you are to remain inactive; what is then to be done? The anſwer is obvious. The center muſt occupy ſome advantageous poſt, ſtrongly fortified, while the two corps or wings muſt act day and night on the enemy's line of operations. If this is executed with vigour, he will ſoon be reduced to the neceſſity of attacking your center, which you may avoid by taking a new poſition, and gain time or wait for it, while the two wings attack his flanks during the action; or elſe he muſt fall back to be nearer his *dépôts*, or finally ſend ſtrong corps againſt your's; and as theſe retire not on your army, he loſes his time and labour. By this diſpoſition of your troops you cover your country effectually, and prevent the enemy from advancing towards your center. The farther he advances the more danger he runs, for his line of operations will be the longer and the leſs eaſy to be guarded. If, on the contrary, you act offenſively, the enemy may find a thouſand ſtrong camps, from whence you cannot force him by any attack on his front; but if you act by corps,

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as I propose, and direct your march on either flank, which enables you to act on his line of operation, you will, in a few days, force him to abandon his camp, and fight you on your own terms, or abandon the country. If he permits you to approach him, you may not only force him to abandon the country, but oblige him to retire in a given direction. I do not, therefore, understand a general where he says, the enemy was posted in such a manner that he could not be forced: I admit it could not, perhaps, be done by attacking his front; but, unless his subsistence grows under his feet, he may be forced to abandon any camp, if you act on his flanks and line of operation, which he cannot prevent but by taking another position.

The march of an army is justly considered as one of the most capital operations in the art of war; I shall, therefore, beg leave to point out the principles on which it is to be formed.

First, That it be executed in the least time possible.

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Secondly, That the columns may be formed into a line with the greateſt facility.

It follows from hence, that if the whole line, or lines, could march in front from one camp to another, this would be the moſt perfect way of marching, becauſe no time would be loſt in forming the columns for the march, or in replacing them in a line. Every officer will conceive that I mean a common march, when you advance in front towards the army; for if you move on his flanks, you have nothing to do but to make the army, as it ſtands in two or three lines, march on its right or left; then you are in order of battle, by a ſimple movement to the right or left, on the ground where you ſtand. But as no country is ſufficiently open for an army to advance in a line, for any conſiderable diſtance, you muſt of courſe break that line, and march in ſeveral columns. The more numerous theſe columns are the better, for the reaſons above-mentioned. The worſt of all, conſequently, is, that when you can march in one column only, becauſe it ſuppoſes the whole army is in a

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defile, and expoſed to be cut in pieces by very few men, who occupy the ground through which ſuch a column is paſſing. This muſt be the caſe with the French, if they attempt to penetrate into this country, as appears from the deſcription we have given of it.

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The MILITARY ROADS *from* PLYMOUTH *to* LONDON.

PLYMOUTH.	Dist. in Miles, betw. places	Dist. in Miles, from Plym.
To Ridgeway	5¼	5¼
Lemin Bridge	2¼	7½
Woodland	2½	10
IVY BRIDGE	1½	11½
Wrangalin	3¾	15
Brent	1¼	16
Harburton	2¾	19
Dean	2¼	21¼
Buckford	¾	22
Aſhburton	3	25
Beckington	3¼	28¼
Chudleigh	5	33¼
Shillingford	7¾	41
EXETER	2½	43½
Honiton Clyſt	4	47
Rochibere	2½	49½
Honiton Bridge	6½	56
Honiton	3½	59½
Offwell	3½	63
AXMINSTER	6	69
Ford	2	71
Street	4¼	75¼
Crewkherne	6¾	82
Haſilbeer	2¾	84½
Eaſt Chirnock	2¾	87
Weſt Coker	1½	88¼
Yeovil	3	91¼
Babylon Hill	1	92¼
Sherborn	4¾	97
Milborn Port	2¾	99½
Stour Weſt-over	6½	106
Stour Eaſt-over	2½	108½
Shaſtſbury	4	112½
Ludwell	1	113½

IVY BRIDGE to	Dist. in Miles, betw. places	Dist. in Miles, from Plym.
Wonton	5¾	17¼
Totneſs	4¼	21½
Newton Buſhel	11½	33
Red Lyon	2½	35½
HALL DOWN	6½	42
Kenford	2	44
Alphington	2½	46
EXETER	1½	48
EXETER to		
Heavy Tree	1	44½
Biſhops Clyſt	3½	48
Newton Poplar	7½	55½
Sidford	2½	58
Cullyford	7½	65½
Lyme	6½	72
Shaderton	2	74
Chidiock	4½	78½
Bridport	2½	81
Stapleton	10	91
DORCHESTER	5	96
Piddle River	4½	100½
Milford	4	104½
Blandford	8	112½

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The Military Roads from PLYMOUTH *to* LONDON.

	Dist. in Miles betw. places	Dist. in Miles from Plym.
White Street Hill	4	117½
Fovent Hut	3½	121
Over the Plain by the Race Ground	5½	126½
Mount Harman Hill	3	129½
SALISBURY	2¼	131¾
St. Thomas's Bridge	3¼	135
The Hut	3½	138⅓
Lobcock's Corner	2	140½
Middle Wallop	2	142½
Andover	7	149½
Hutſborn	4¼	153¾
Whitchurch	2¾	156½
Overton	3½	160
Wotton	5½	165½
Baſing ſtoke	2½	168
Newnham	4	172
Hook	1	173
Murrel Green	1½	174½
Hartley Row	3½	178
Hartford Bridge	1	179
Blackwater	5	184
Golden Farmer	3	187
Bagſhot	1	188
Bagſhot Heath	3½	191½
New England Inn	1¾	193¼
Egham	3¼	196½
Staines Turnpike	¼	197¾
Staines	1	198¾
Belfont	3½	202¼
The Powder Mills	1½	203¾
Hownſlow	2	205¾
Brentford	2¾	208½
Turnham Green	2	210½
Hammerſmith	1	211½
Kenſington	2½	214
LONDON	1½	215½

	Dist. in Miles betw. places	Dist. in Miles from Plym.
Woodyates Inn	12¾	125¼
Coombe	8	133¼
SALISBURY	3½	136¾
Lobcock's Corner to *Stockbridge*	7	147½
Sutton	7	154½
Cranburn	1	155½
The Three Burrows	3	158½
Popham Lane	3½	162
Baſing ſtoke	6	168
SALISBURY to Alderbury	3¾	135½
Whaddon	¾	136¼
White Pariſh	3½	139¾
Cows Field Green	1	140¾
Heath Poſt	6	146¾
Rumſey	2¼	149
Enfield	4	153
Hurſley	2	155
Pitt	¾	155¾
WINCHESTER	1¼	157
Magdalen Houſe	1¼	158¼
Sewers Bridge	5	163¼
Arlesford	1	164¼
Bighton	2	166¼
Alton	8	174¼
Bentley Green	5	179¼
Farnham	4	183¼
Frimley	8	191¼
Bagſhot	4	195¼

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Military Road from PORTSMOUTH *to* LONDON.

	Distances in Miles. betw. places	from Ports.
PORTSMOUTH to		
Portſea Bridge	4½	4½
Coſham	½	5
PORTS DOWN	½	5½
Purbeck Heath	2	7½
Bere Foreſt	1	8½
Harndon	2½	11
Petersfield	7½	18½
Sheet Bridge	1	19½
Rake	3¾	23¼
Lippock	2¾	26
Over the Heath to Hind Head Hill	5¼	31¼
Milford	6¼	37½
Godalmin	1½	39
Catherine Hill	3	42
Guildford	1	43
Ripley	6	49
Cobham Street	4¼	53¼
Eſher	3¼	56½
Thames Ditton	2	58½
Kingſton	2½	61
Putney Heath	4	65
Wandſworth	2	67
Newington	4¾	71¼
LONDON	1¾	73

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Branches between PLYMOUTH *and* EXETER.

	Dist. in Miles.			Dist. in Miles.	
	betw. places.	from Plym.		betw. places.	from Plym.
PLYMOUTH					
To Buckland	3	3			
Efford	5	8			
Yalmerton Bridge	1½	9½			
Modbury	4¾	14¼	*Modbury* to		
Gary Bridge	5	19¼	*Totneſs*	11	25¼
Holwell	3¾	23	*Newton Buſhel*	11	36¼
Dartmouth	7	30			
Crupland	2	32			
Come	9	41			
Newton Buſhel	5	46			

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